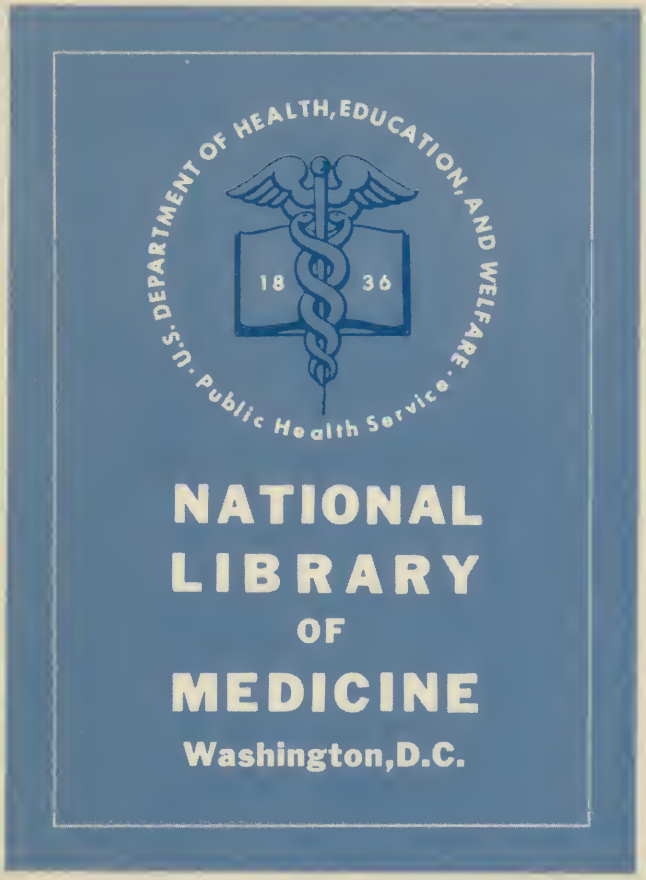
HQ 21 M515s 1917

02230250R

NLM 05015356 3

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE



132

THE SEXUAL CRISIS

A CRITIQUE OF OUR SEX LIFE

BY

GRETE MEISEL-HESS

Authorized Translation by

EDEN AND CEDAR PAUL

With an Introduction

BY

WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M.D.

1917

THE CRITIC AND GUIDE COMPANY

12 MT. MORRIS PARK WEST

NEW YORK

HQ
21
M515s
1917

Copyright, 1917,
By The Critic and Guide Company

All rights reserved

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION BY WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M.D. 7

TRANSLATORS' PREFACE 14

BOOK I—THE SEXUAL ORDER OF OUR CIVILIZATION

CHAPTER

I. CRITIQUE OF MARRIAGE IN ITS PRESENT FORM 17
Causes of the Increase in the Number of Celibates—Perversion of Courtship.

II. THE NATURE OF MARRIAGE 29
Program of the "Revolutionists."

BOOK II—MARRIAGE AND THE FORMS AND RESULTS OF ITS INVASION WITHIN THE EXISTING SEXUAL ORDER

III. THE LEGAL COEFFICIENT OF MARRIAGE 34
Analysis of the Concept "Marriage." Intrinsic Dangers of the Illegitimate Erotic Intimacy. "Love-loathing."

IV. THE SOCIAL COEFFICIENT OF MARRIAGE 40
Its Indispensable Character. Ideal of a Permanent Sexual and Social Bond as the Basis of Marriage. Contrast between This Ideal and the Actual Marriage of Our Day.

V. THE COEFFICIENT OF SUGGESTION IN MARRIAGE 45
Critique of the Free Love Intimacy of To-day. Danger of Sexual Relationships Outside the Pale of the Law. Danger of Marriage without Probation. Trial Marriage in History. Concubinage.

BOOK III—THE DOUBLE STANDARD OF OUR SEXUAL MORALITY

VI. KANT AND THE METAPHYSICS OF ETHICS 79
Origin of Morality. Hygienic Ordinances Taking the Form of Religious and Moral Precepts.

VII. FOLK-HISTORY IN RELATION TO THE MORAL QUESTION . . . 87
Duplex Morality as a Protective Wall. Consequences of Masculine Sexual Morality. Effects of the Resulting Duplex Mental Attitude upon Psychic Unity and Development of Character in the Male. Sexual Anarchy. *Die Jüdin von Toledo.* Duplex Morality in Literature. The Problem in the Antique World. The 1,300 Verses of Menander.

VIII.—THE INSTITUTION OF EXTREME DEMANDS 97
Control of Feminine Chastity as a Consequence of the Father-Right. The Higher Father-Right of the Future. The Child as an Argument in Favor of Duplex Sexual Morality. Primal Basis of Morality: the Interest of the Species. The Demand for Chastity a Necessary One. Sexual Freedom and Sexual Restraint in Relation to the Offspring and to the Race. Individual Disregard of a Socially Approved Code Is Commonly a Fruitless Act of Opposition; What We Need Is a Reorganization of Social Life.

BOOK IV—SEXUAL LIES

IX. SEXUAL LIES 103
Frequency of Sexual Lies. Lying Moral Imperatives. Coercive Sexual Need in Youth. Spring in Gyves. Erotic Friendship. Luther and Sexual Lies. Man's Ideal Woman. "My Wife" and "My Husband." Women "Consecrated to Death" as Portrayed in Literature. The Lawgivers of the Sexual Life. Consequences of Neglected Sexual Hygiene. Metamorphosis of the Sexual Impulse into Obscenity. The Lie-Trust Must Be Dissolved.

BOOK V—LOVE

X. THE NATURE OF LOVE 118
Meaning of the Legend of the Fall. The Will to Love. Partial Substitutes for the Perfect Love. Social Love; Sexual Love; Contrectative Love. The Larger Expectations of the Male; His Clearer Vision of the Possibilities of Love.

CHAPTER PAGE

XI. The Sport of Love 125
Frascata's Letter in *La Vie Parisienne*. Gallant Love Contrasted with Tragic Love. Deeper Significance of the Sport of Love. Olympic Love-Sport of the Gods of Ancient Greece. Love-Sport of the Martians in Lasswitz's Novel. A Pure Sport of Sentiment as an Ideal of Civilization.

XII. Love-Witchery 132
The Eros of Diotima. Love-Witchery as Symbolized in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The Siegfried-Brünnehilde Myth. The Influence of Christianity in Sustaining the Conception of Woman-as-Destroyer. Her Rôle in Literature. Replacement of Love-Witchery by a New Ideal.

XIII. Love-Hate 140
The Struggle of the Sexes, Its Significance. The Primal Curse. *Penthesilea*—a Drama of Love-Hate. Cannot We Put an End to Love-Hate by a New Art of Love?

XIV. Love-Need 149
Frigidity of our Own Epoch. *La Grande Amoureuse*. Pathological and Social Love-Need. Sensual Impotence. Its Pathological Causes. Psychoneurosis. Freud's Theory. Psychic Inability to Control the Physical Manifestations of Sexual Tension. Male *Demi-Vierges*. A Sequence of Loves. Literature of Love. Love-Poetry of the Future.

Book VI—THE TRAVESTY OF LOVE

XV. Nature and Origin of Prostitution 159
Definition of the Concept. Myth and Legend. Tellurism as a Means of Providing a Dowry. Decline of Religious Prostitution. The Athenian Dikterion. The Emancipated Woman as a Free Hetaira. The "Young Maidens" of the Cyprian Venus. Rome, Christianity and the Degradation of Prostitution. Its Ultimate Ruin through the Introduction of Syphilis from America. Attempts at the Regulation of Prostitution. Aggravation of its Evils. Abolitionist Congress of 1877.

XVI. The Necessity of Prostitution 167
Prostitution as an Inevitable Correlate of the Modern Marriage-System. The Need for Unfettering Sexual Intercourse.

XVII. The Melancholy Travesty 175
Its Victims. Its Dangers. Threefold Corruption of the Man; of the Victim; and of the Social Consciousness. Abyss between the Day-Consciousness and the Night-Consciousness. Enfeeblement of the Sexual Impulse. Misused Nature's Revenge. Sufferings of Men.

XVIII. The Economic Basis 181
Boundary between Prostitution and Free Love. The Maintenance of the Woman by the Man is Neither Unnatural nor Antisocial. In the Free Intimacy, the Money Question Is Usually Left Entirely to Chance. Attitude Toward This Matter in France and Germany respectively. German "Idealism." An Economic Order in which the Wife and the Mother Will Be Socially Endowed, as a Substitute for the Maintenance of the Wife by the Husband. Metaphysical Idea of "Compensating" a Woman for the Surrender of Her Person. Of the Two Sexual Partners, the Woman Is the One Especially Endangered by Love, Alike Biologically, Economically and Morally.

XIX. Reform of Prostitution 190
Falsity of the Platonic Campaign Against Prostitution. Proposals to Get Rid of the Evil by Means of Ethical Teaching, Vegetarianism, Tracts and Pamphlets, Physical Culture and Family Life. How to Make Prostitution Superfluous. A Conceivable Method. The "Sport of the Martians" reconsidered. "Erotic Friendship" reconsidered. The Reformer as an Intermediary Between the Sufferings of the Present and the Star of the Ideal.

BOOK VII—SEXUAL NEED AND THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

CHAPTER PAGE

XX. ORIGIN AND NECESSITY OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT . . . 203
Necessity of Remunerated Work for Women To-day. Difficulty of Providing a Dowry and Consequent Difficulty of Marriage. Statistical Data. Technical Advances Tending to Lighten Domestic Work. Need for the Extension of Communal Activity in the Upbringing of Children. The Eugenic Problem. The Woman's Movement Necessitates an Amplified Classification of Feminine Types. Motherhood Must be Possible for Every Healthy Woman and Independent Remunerated Work Must be open to All. Such Work a Necessary Transitional Phase on the Way to Sexual Enfranchisement. The Sexual Bond-slavery of To-day. Emancipation: Economic, Spiritual and Sexual.

XXI. OPPOSITION TO THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT 215
Misconceptions of the Need for the Woman's Movement. Its Socially Therapeutic Function, the Historical Conditions of Its Origin, and Its True Line of Future Advance. Views of the Pseudo-scientists of Racial Progress. Views of the Æsthetes. The Mass-movement and the Individual Woman's Movement. Those Emancipated *from* Sex and Those Emancipated *for* Sex. The Woman's Movement in Classical Antiquity: Hetairism; Amazonhood. The Old Maid Gives Place to the Bachelor Woman. Motherhood in Women Engaged in Creative Work. The Campaign for Woman's Rights Is a Means for the Attainment of the Rights of Wifehood and Motherhood, and a Necessary Stage in Racial Progress.

XXII. THE JUSTIFICATION OF AN ACTIVE LIFE FOR WOMEN . . . 235
Duty of the "Monads." Art and Sex. Woman's Intuitive Knowledge and Its Utilization in Her Occupation. Need That Women Should Share in All Occupations. Woman's Art as a Reflex of Her Life-Experience. Woman's Right to Self-Expression.

XXIII. THE LESS FAVORABLE ASPECTS OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT . 241
Woman's Expenditure of Energy upon Sexual Functions Must Never be Ignored. Freedom of Occupation, but not Enforced Occupation. Exploitation of Women's Working Powers. The Offer of Remunerated Employment Cannot be Regarded as Affording Even a Partial Substitute for Opportunities for a Full General Life. Maternal Energies Transmuted into Horsepower. The Woman's Movement Historically Necessary as a Stage on the Road to the Motherhood Movement.

BOOK VIII—SEXUAL CRISIS AND THE RACE

XXIV. GENERAL RACIAL PROBLEMS 247
The "Well-Born." Definition of Life. The Struggle for Existence. Non-selective Influences. Conflicting Aims of Racial Hygiene and of Individual Hygiene. Increasing Propagation of the Less Fit and Sterilization of the More Fit. Marriage Prohibitions for the Healthy; Marriage Freedom for the Diseased. Factors Working Injury to the Racial Process.

XXV. THE SEXUAL STRUGGLE 260
Obstacles to the Work of Reproduction: The Extral Struggle, the Social Struggle, the Sexual Struggle. The "Struggle for the Fit Sexual Partner." True Selection Hindered, Falsified Selection Favored.

XXVI. SOCIALISM AND THE THEORY OF SELECTION 268
Apparent Conflict Between the Socialist and the Darwinian Views of the World-Order. The Sexual Victory of Lower Types over Higher. The Protection of the Weak and the Struggle for Existence. Plötz's Solution of the Problem: The Adoption of Measures to Secure the Birth of Better Human Varieties. Sexual Reform and Racial Hygiene. Synthesis of the Idealism of the Antique and the Christian Worlds.

CHAPTER PAGE

XXVII. The Reform of Procreation 276
The Fundamental Idea of Sexual Reform: The Production and Maintenance of Fit Human Beings. The Struggle Against the Forbears. Religious Need of Humanity. Reverence for Procreation as the Religion of the Future.

Book IX—THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CONTEMPORARY HUMANITY

XXVIII. Psychology of the Sexual Struggle 284
The Factor of Struggle in Sex-Relationships. "Getting the Upper Hand." Who Pays Homage? The Frenzy of Misunderstanding. Psychic Fetichism of the Modern Man. His Misdirected and Inadequate Sexual Impulse. Love of Obscenity as an Equivalent for the Satisfaction of Such an Impulse. Sexual Exhaustion as a Sequel of Cerebral Exhaustion. The Ascetic Tendency.

XXIX. Sexual Psychology of the Male 291
"The Child in Man." Man's Suggestibility; His Greed of Possession, and His Lust of Destruction. "Men About Town." The Woman Who Woos and Her Inevitable Ultimate Failure. The Frigid Woman and Her Success with the Modern Man. Consequences to the Family and to the Race of the Artificial Selection of Frigid Women. "Man, the Murderer." Great Lovers: Bismarck, Wagner, Goethe. Grillparzer as a Precursor of Kierkegaard. "Forget Not Thy Whip." Victory of the Megaera-Amazon-Fury Type. "Yes, Darling, Do Go on Talking!" The New Woman and Her Failure to Find a Mate. Seduction, an Art of the Future.

Book X—OUR SEXUAL MISERY

XXX. The Justification of the Sexual Life 304
The General State of Sexual Privation. Disturbances in Animals Due to Sexual Abstinence. The Need to Leave Offspring is a Dictum of All Civilized Peoples.

XXXI. The Causes of Our Sexual Misery 309
Capitalism the Root of the Evil. Emasculation Through Capitalism. Marriage as an Institution for the Elderly. Why Innumerable Persons Fail to Discover Sexual Complements. The Alpha and Omega of Sexual Misery: Vitiated Selection.

XXXII. The Peculiar Sexual Misery of Woman 317
Erotic Starvation and Its Dangers. Women of Higher Type Especially Liable to Erotic Privation. The "Anomalous" Woman. Anna Boje, in Frenssen's *Hilligenlei*. Sex-Problems in Modern Literature. Organic Need for Motherhood—Often Ignored in the Woman's Movement. Krafft-Ebing upon Insanity in Celibate Women. Peculiarly Tragical Isolation of Those Termed New Women. A *Chanson* of Macterlinck's Voicing Woman's Resignation. Matriarchy *versus* Patriarchy. Control of the Birth-rate by the Direct Association of Mothers with the State. The Deliberate Play of Courtship That Would Result from a Wise Reform of Our Sexual Life.

XXXIII. The Psychopathic Consequences of Sexual Misery . . 330
"Depressed, Miserable and Exhausted." Dissociations of Consciousness. The Researches of Breuer and Freud. Disturbance of Psychic Unity Through the Need for the "Abreaction" of Sexual Affects. Sexual Neurosis.

XXXIV. Conclusions 340
After Consideration, Action. Eugenics. The Woman's Movement: The Economic Emancipation of Women; Motherhood Protection. Education. Complete Moral Recognition of Every Healthy Act of Motherhood. Our Conclusions Are the Collective Voice in Which the Yearning of Suffering Millions Finds Expression. Monogamy: Coercive Marriage and Free Marriage. Awakening of Racial Consciousness; Higher Sexual Aims of the Individual. The Golden Rule of the Sexual Life.

INTRODUCTION

By William J. Robinson, M.D.

Humanity is weary and the burden is becoming heavier and heavier.

There is too little joy in this world, too little happiness. Sadness and misery are the common lot. They are so common, that by millions of people they are considered the natural condition, the inevitable fate of the human race. "Yes, I am weary," says Humanity; "the cup of my misery is full to overflowing," and then it proceeds to drink from the cup and continues to carry its burden, sometimes with but generally without a murmur. Fortunately for the race, it always had some sons—and recently also some daughters—who rebelled against the idea that suffering, pain and unhappiness were inevitable conditions to be borne without a struggle. They rebelled, they fought, they died in the cause, but they blazed a trail which makes it easier for us to continue the work.

The first condition necessary to cure a disease is to know its cause and its character. The first step in removing human misery is an analysis of its causes. It did not require much acumen to discover that our economic order was responsible for a large proportion of human suffering; the discovery that our sex life, our code of sex morality, was the cause of an enormous amount of suffering of the acutest, the most agonizing character, came at a much later date; we may say it is the discovery of but yesterday. But the unbiased modern thinker, the close observer who has considerable material on which to make his observations, must inevitably come to the conclusion that sex misery is as widespread as is hunger misery, and is much more difficult to handle. In other words, it is much more difficult to solve the sex problem than it is the economic problem.

There are several reasons for this. One of the reasons is that economic misery is open, sexual misery is hidden. People in the

mass do not conceal their economic condition; they are not ashamed of their economic status; some are even ready to exaggerate their poverty, and many do not hesitate to apply for charitable relief. Sexual misery, however, is hidden in the deepest recesses of the heart. Like the Spartan youth with the fox at his breast, many a man has gone down to his grave with sex misery gnawing at his vitals, without flinching, and many women will let their health wither and their vitality shrivel, and will not betray their secret.

Another reason is that it is easier and simpler to relieve bread poverty than it is sex poverty. When a man is starving, we can give him a dinner, a dollar, or a job. When a person is dying for the lack of love, we cannot offer him the requisite remedy. There are free bread-lines and municipal lodging houses for those who need bread and shelter; no such palliatives have been provided for the sexually starved.

A third reason is that the satisfaction of our other instincts—hunger, thirst and sleep—is a legitimate function and does not conflict with any religious code; the satisfaction of the sex instinct, except under certain prescribed conditions, which for millions of adult men and women are unattainable, is considered a vice or a crime, because it conflicts with religious dogma, with the statute law and with the man-made code of morality.

A fourth reason: when a man is poor he knows it. In other words, one who suffers from lack of material necessities knows exactly what his trouble is: one who suffers sexually does not himself always know what the trouble is. A man or a woman suffering from lack of love or from lack of sexual satisfaction (the two are not synonymous) or from improper sexual satisfaction may be deeply unhappy and not suspect the cause of the unhappiness. It may require the prolonged efforts of an acute psychologist to determine the cause and to point it out to the sufferer.

Then again—number five—incomparably more people are devoting their lives to the work of solving economic problems than are engaged in studying our sex problems. And the people engaged in the former can be bolder in their statements and more untrammeled in their opinions than those engaged in the latter. In the worst case they—the former—may be stigmatized as social-

ists or anarchists. But these words no longer carry with them any opprobrium or social ostracism. They have become respectable —the former entirely so, the second almost. While those who dare to discuss honestly and frankly our sex problems are anathematized as immoral, corrupters of youth, debauchees, profligates, and what not, and these terms still carry with them a deep opprobrium and do involve social and professional ostracism.

But there is something even more effective, more deterrent than opprobrium and ostracism—and we will designate this as number six of our reasons why the sex problem is confronted with greater obstacles: there is the real danger of forbidding and destroying your writings and of putting you behind prison bars. When they cannot refute your arguments, they can hit you with a club and put you in chains. Economic and political writers are beyond that stage; they enjoy freedom of speech and freedom of press in the full meaning of those terms; no books on economic or political subjects are refused the mails and imprisonment no longer menaces their authors. But sex writings, if frank, free and honest, are still barred from the mails or destroyed and their authors and publishers are still fined or sent to prison.

For these reasons, as well as for several others which cannot be mentioned here, the sex problem is much further from solution than the economic problem is, and for this very reason it becomes the bounden duty of those who do appreciate the full significance of our sex life, its potentiality for unlimited weal and boundless woe, to treat the subject honestly, fearlessly, without regard to consequences. The writer of this introduction has long ago come to the conclusion that the sex problem is more important than the economic problem, more important than any other problem confronting the human race. Perhaps I should not use the word important. Generally speaking, the economic problem is the most important one, for it is the basic, fundamental problem; when a person is hungry, and has no clothes to wear, and no shelter to protect him from inclement weather, he is more wretched than one who suffers from love-starvation. Nevertheless the economic problem is the simpler one. In this country at least, the number of those in a condition of actual chronic starvation is a small one,

perhaps an insignificantly small one. The number of those—men and women—who slowly agonize on account of love-starvation is enormous. *It constitutes the larger proportion of humanity.*

We have to face the fact that there are millions of people who have no economic problems—whose livelihood is secure, and who can even revel in luxuries—but who have very perplexing, very distressing sex problems, that fill their waking and sleeping hours with life-destroying misery. It often happens that just as soon as the economic problem is settled, the sex problem commences. And it is no abstract reasoning, but the face-to-face confessions which the writer has had to listen to for many years in the sacred privacy of his office, the tears and the agonies of his patients, that have disclosed to him the unfathomed depths of the sex problem, the widespread suffering for which it is responsible. And many suffer and suffer and, as said, are not aware of the cause of their suffering. It is this widespread suffering that has induced the writer to devote his life to a study of humanity's sex problems, and to bring the results of his study *to the people.* For the ignorance of the people in sex matters is unbelievably colossal. And when I say people, I do not mean the "common" people, the masses only. I mean all the people—the so-called cultured and uncultured alike. And of no books are the people so greatly in need now as of sex books of high character, dealing in an honest, fearless and scientific manner with all the phases of the sex question, considering it from every viewpoint: the physiological, the psychological, the pathological, the sociological and last but not least the ethical.

Among books of this high character, THE SEXUAL CRISIS occupies an honored place and I consider myself extremely fortunate in having been instrumental in making this remarkable book accessible to the English reading public. It is from many points of view a great book, and even conservative but honest thinkers, who care to hear the other side, will admit that the author of THE SEXUAL CRISIS has given the world a book which is well worth a careful perusal. One need not agree with all of the author's conclusions, but nobody can deny that as an analytical critique of our sex life, as a stimulus to thought, Dr. Meisel-Hess' book has few equals.

The superficial, the stupid, the vicious, those who on account of their perverted vision see immorality and impurity where not a shadow of either exists, will brand the book as immoral, or at least as tending to corrupt our morals. Some will undoubtedly assert that the author is attacking the sacred institution of marriage, wants to abolish it and is in favor of free love. To such strabismic accusations it is sufficient to oppose some of the author's own statements. Here is what she says in one place (page 60):

"Marriage as the permanent sexual association of one man and one woman, drawn together by an intimate harmony of physical and mental qualities and each finding in the other complete satisfaction of all desire for sexual relationships, with father, mother, and children, living together in harmony, *is and must remain the ideal.*" But as an honest observer she knows that "the attainment of this ideal involves the fulfillment of conditions often difficult to realize," and that "it is essential that an additional form of sexual life should receive legal and social recognition."

In another place (page 67) she says still more unequivocally: "Let there be no misunderstanding. *I regard permanent sexual unions as the ideal.* For a woman, above all, it is eminently desirable that she should give herself to one man only, that this man should be the first she has loved, that she should never suffer disillusionment, and that the pair should remain true lovers until death." Does this sound like the expression of an immoral woman, or a promiscuous varietist?

That the author is not an advocate of free love, that she recognizes the shortcomings and dangers of free unions, the following extracts will amply demonstrate:

"We regard the social factor of marriage," says our author, "as an enduring human need. If a man and a woman are to find complete mutual satisfaction in a sexual companionship, it is necessary that they should coöperate plainly and publicly. *It is incontestable that a sexual relationship which is not based upon the full association of the two lives is profoundly unsatisfying.*"

"A relationship limited to a secret tête-à-tête *is tainted with the seeds of disease.* It is upon this enforced secrecy that the 'free' sexual union is so often shipwrecked; and, precisely be-

cause of this secrecy, such an intimacy *is a thousandfold less free* than the most fettered form of marriage."

"Above all to-day, when in favor of 'free love' so many lances are splintered, and splintered by noble hands, we cannot refrain from insisting upon *the profound dangers inseparable* from such an intimacy. . . . Their dangers, however, are very real, and the actual study of free unions will show that these dangers are more extensive than their advocates are apt to imagine."

It will be seen from the above statements that the author does not advocate the abolition of marriage. On the contrary she, with many radical freethinkers, considers a happy monogamous marriage the ideal; but recognizing the essential need of an institution does not take away the right to criticize its shortcomings and to offer suggestions for improvement. And recognizing the need of monogamic marriage for the vast majority of people does not take away the right to claim that there are many men and women who are not fit for monogamic marriage, and such people are entitled to a different form of sex life.

It is rather a peculiar coincidence that my views on marriage have long been almost identical with those of the present author, and I have expressed them in almost the same words. In 1911, in the symposium on Sex-Morality—Past, Present and Future, I summarized my essay as follows:

The monogamic system of marriage will probably survive in the future as the dominant system. The family will in the future, as in the present, form the basic unit of society, for a happy, harmonious family is the best environment for the proper bringing up of children, for the proper development of character. Of course it is possible that the state institutions for the care of children in the future will be of a much higher character than the institutions of the present. But the institutions with which we are familiar do not inspire us with very great expectations in this respect. A good home is superior to the best institution or asylum or *pension* or dormitory, and no substitute has yet been found for mother love and father love. . . .

Monogamy, while being the prevalent system, will not be surrounded with the rigid and iron-clad rules of the present day, will not be so absolute in its applications as it is *theoretically* supposed to be now, and occasional departures from it will not be accompanied by the odium and legal punishments of to-day.

Ante-nuptially no reproach will be attached to sexual relationships. Prostitution being a coarse and unsanitary institution, relationships of a different character will come into vogue where the health of both the man and the woman will be as secure and as safeguarded as it is in legal marriage. As no odium will be attached to such relations, no secrecy will be required and all sanitary precautions will be readily carried out, should such sanitary precautions be needed at that time. For we believe that in the future, prostitution being non-existent and individual prophylaxis having been in use for years, venereal disease will have disappeared from the face of the earth. . . .

Men and women who, for one reason or another, will be unable or unwilling to enter into any permanent union or to have any children, will enter into free temporary unions, openly and frankly, and they will not be ostracized or even frowned upon for so doing. For it will be recognized that for some men or women it is the only form of sexual relationship possible, either psychically or physiologically.

I was naturally pleased to find the author of THE SEXUAL CRISIS entertaining the same sanely radical views.

A word as to the translation. The translation is so thoroughly excellent—and the difficulties of an adequate translation from German only those who have tried the task can appreciate—that in going through the manuscript I could only nod unqualified approval. Changing the English spelling to American, modifying a word here or an expression there, was all I had to do. The translators are certainly to be congratulated for the skill and ability with which they have accomplished their difficult task.

I have read THE SEXUAL CRISIS, from the beginning to end, three times: the manuscript, the galley proofs and the page proofs. I have read it not because I had to, but because I wanted to: because I enjoyed reading it. And with each reading the enjoyment became greater and the appreciation grew stronger. May the reader's experience be similar to mine.

WILLIAM J. ROBINSON.

December 8, 1916.
12 Mount Morris Park West, New York City.

TRANSLATORS' PREFACE

The most outstanding feature of contemporary human evolution is that it is tending to become a conscious and deliberate process. To quote Ray Lankester's telling phrase, man is "nature's rebellious son." Long ago, indeed, when they first became human, our ancestors ceased to depend solely upon that automatic reaction to environment we know by the name of instinct. But the latest advances in the use of our rational faculties initiate a new stage. We have a wider grasp than of yore of the need to modify our "natural" environment to suit our own purposes. We recognize that among the factors of that natural environment which need modification, perhaps the most plastic of all, and certainly the one most definitely requiring modification, is the social milieu into which we are born, in which we grow to maturity, and to which each individual among us makes his specific contribution. And we have learned from the teachings of Darwin, Galton, and their successors, that among the elements of human life susceptible of modification by man's deliberate will, may be numbered the very stuff and substance of which that life is primarily composed; we know that by the control of human selection the future of our race can be influenced in a manner perhaps more radical than any other. Thus, apart from militarism and its reactions (and these things, despite their present tendency to overshadow all our thoughts, are in truth but subordinate issues, and our attitude towards them, in so far as we are consistent, will be determined by our general outlook upon the problems of social life)—apart, then, from militarism and its reactions, the directions in which nature's rebellious sons and daughters are reaching out in their endeavors to mould the human future, are indicated by four of the most notable movements of our time, the socialist movement, the movement for sexual reform, the woman's movement, and the eugenist movement. Now the great value of The Sexual Crisis, and that wherein its essential originality is to be found, is that it represents the first definite attempt to coördinate all these move-

ments, and to display their essential interdependence. Every socialist or social reformer, every sexual reformer, every protagonist of the woman's movement, and every eugenist, may expect to find much in the book from which he dissents, and much perhaps of which he disapproves; occasionally, it may be, dissent and disapproval will even be passionate: and yet it is hardly possible that anyone sincerely interested in the great thought-movements of our time should fail to appreciate the writer's honesty and insight, or should fail to enjoy the acuteness with which she criticizes many institutions and conventions that are venerable only in the sense of being mustily antique.

The translators will have effected their primary aim if they have succeeded in rendering the work into English in such a manner that it can be read as if it were an English original. But in so far as in this respect they have attained a measure of success, the danger arises that British and American readers may forget that the author's experiences are mainly German and Austrian, and that she is writing primarily of German conditions. As regards the position of women and the progress of the woman's movement, Germany presents one of those strange contrasts characteristic of all civilizations in this epoch of detached and ofttimes warring nationalities. In freedom of discussion in sexual matters, and as far as concerns a theoretical understanding that economic emancipation and sexual emancipation are essential foundations of the movement for the emancipation of women, Germany is in the van; on the other hand, when we come to consider the actual position of women in social life, we find that the German *Hausfrau* lacks the comparative independence of her British, and still more of her American sister. This contrast exists, indeed, chiefly in the bourgeois classes, for, so far as the proletariat is concerned, in contemporary capitalist civilization the position of women is much the same all the world over, and their veiled slavery is mitigated only by a tendency in urban working-class life to ignore the restraints of coercive marriage, and (in certain countries, such as France and Anglo-America) by the extensive practice of birth control. Moreover, under capitalism and coercive marriage, the differences between Germany, France, England, and the United

States are more apparent than real. So long as social conditions facilitate sexual exploitation, sexual exploitation will continue. Sometimes the man exploits the woman; sometimes the woman exploits the man; sometimes the exploitation is mutual. All forms of exploitation, all relationships in which men and women treat other men and women as means instead of as ends-in-themselves, are equally disastrous to the welfare and happiness of the human race.

A word in conclusion on the title. The sexual crisis through which, in the author's eyes, we are passing, is not a momentary event. It is a crisis in biological history, a history that endures for centuries, and the crisis may therefore outlast two or three individual lives, even the lives of centenarians. But as human progress becomes self-conscious, its pace is quickened. To increase self-consciousness, to intensify social criticism, to accelerate the forward movement of civilization—these are the aims of The Sexual Crisis.

Eden and Cedar Paul.

London, December, 1916.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Frau Grete Meisel-Hess was born in Prague on April 18, 1879. At the Tochterschule in Vienna she had an education of the customary kind, one hostile to all individuality of character. Subsequently, however, in a modern educational institution, she was able to secure the necessary room for development and to obtain the conditions requisite for healthy and natural growth. During five years, as an unattached student at the University of Vienna, she attended courses in philosophy, sociology, and biology. She was from the first exposed to the influences of a thoroughly conventional middle-class atmosphere, and has in her own personal career made experience of the great mental revolution characteristic of modern womanhood. This revolution is the principal theme of her intellectual and imaginative activities. The most decisive step in her life was the removal from Vienna to the more energetic environment of Berlin. She is the author of several successful novels and of numerous essays on sociological topics, chiefly relating to aspects of the woman's movement.

THE SEXUAL CRISIS

BOOK I

THE SEXUAL ORDER OF OUR CIVILIZATION

Give me a place to stand on,
and I could move the world.
ARCHIMEDES.

CHAPTER I

CRITIQUE OF MARRIAGE IN ITS PRESENT FORM

Causes of the Increase in the Number of Celibates. Perversion of Courtship.

TO every epoch belongs its own established "order." If everyone had remained contented with this order, our development out of the protoplasmic slime of the sea-depths into the condition in which we now find ourselves would never have taken place. It is tantamount to an absolute negation of the idea of evolution to regard an established order as above criticism, as immaculately perfect. The sexual life of our civilization is grounded on marriage, and marriage is an order which has good reasons for its existence. Nevertheless, we have to ask ourselves what marriage costs us. Within the limits of this sexual order, mothers, delivered in secret, bleed to death for lack of aid; infants are drowned like superfluous kittens, or perish at the hands of the baby-farmer; women become prostitutes because no other livelihood is open to them; syphilitics, drunkards, consumptives, and persons suffering from mental disorder can marry without any obligation to disclose their infirmity to their partner in wedlock; undesired chil-

dren are born for whom no sustenance can be found, sickly children, bred in corruption, unfitted from their very birth for the struggle for existence, who, when full grown, can only hinder and hamper the working of the social machinery, and who drag out their weary lives as a burden to themselves and to others; by this sexual order millions of healthy men and women are forbidden to reproduce their kind, whilst simultaneously, in mockery of the notion of racial selection, it is the most pushing and self-seeking, the least scrupulous and the least heroic of our race, those who by any rational standard are the most unworthy to perpetuate their type, that prove themselves the "fittest" to survive and propagate most rapidly and most abundantly; millions, too, are debarred, not merely from reproduction but further from any natural sexual life, this privation being in part dependent upon a total lack of opportunities for sexual gratification, and in part upon a restriction of such opportunities and upon the imposition of *artificial obstacles to sexual satisfaction;* to many millions of persons the only sexual life available is the life of prostitution: all these varied manifestations are the inseparable associates of our sexual order based on marriage, and so long as they persist we cannot fail to consider that this order urgently needs reform.

Surprise is often expressed at the fact that it is women, above all, who attack marriage as the only socially authorized variety of sexual relationships. We are told: "It is for women's sake that the institution of marriage exists; it has arisen for their protection, not for that of men." We are asked: "For what reason is it that among those who attack marriage, or object to the claim that marriage is the only permissible sexual relationship, women constitute the preponderant majority?" These questioners are apt to answer their own inquiry by telling us that the advocates of "Women's rights" attack marriage because "the grapes are sour!" Agreed. It is a deplorable truth that in the case of many women marriage is as completely unattainable as were the grapes to the fox in the fable. But it cannot be admitted

that an institution which is inaccessible to millions of sound and healthy persons, well fitted for love and for parentage, can justly claim to be regarded as the only socially permissible form of sexual relationship.

In Germany alone there is an excess of one million women. Moreover, of the men in the country not more than sixty per cent. marry. The last census showed that there were six million bachelors in Germany, and no less than eight million "bachelor women," so that fourteen million adult Germans were unmarried. Exercise of sexual function was open to these fourteen million persons only through an infringement of the principle of monogamic marriage, and in default of this they were condemned to permanent celibacy. At the census of 1900 the proportion of unmarried women in Germany was the following: at ages 18 to 40 years, 44%; at ages 18 to 25 years (that is to say, during the most blooming years of life, when a woman's hunger for happiness is at its height), 78%. The figures show, indeed, that between the ages of 25 and 40 years 34% succeed in marrying for better or for worse. But more frequently it is for worse rather than for better, under conditions in which life remains a hard struggle for bare subsistence, conditions increasingly obnoxious to the true purpose of marriage, which should be a garden for the higher culture of the race and for the perfectionment of the individual. Those permanently excluded from this "marriage-garden" have continually less reason to envy those who have been admitted within its walls. However this may be, alike among men and among women, the number of celibates is increasing to an alarming extent, for reasons which may be classed under four heads: (1) economic; (2) individual and psychological; (3) racial and biological; (4) legislative and social.

* * * * * * *

Monogamic marriage, as recognized by the civilized world, is still based on the earnings of the male—in the first place as husband, and secondly as the father who provides a dowry to assist his daughter to marriage. Day by day, however, it becomes

increasingly difficult for the man to gain a livelihood. Wages increase, it is true; but still more rapidly does there ensue a concurrent increase in the price of the necessaries of life, due to the action of those who own the means of production. At the same time, since the standard of life is rising, the individual's needs increase; and the satisfaction of these needs, for those dependent on actual earnings, becomes ever more difficult, even in the case of persons who have only themselves to support.

Obviously, then, it becomes still more difficult for the wage-earner to maintain several persons, or at any rate to provide for them in such a way as to make his existence and theirs worthy of civilized human beings; more and more impossible does it become for him to lay by a dowry for his daughter, for he has to think of his own old age. It would be a help if his wife also could earn something, but such a supplementary source of income will necessarily be inadequate and insecure unless one of two things should happen. One possibility is that for the loss of the wife's earnings through the exercise of her sexual and reproductive functions there should be provided an adequate equivalent, either by some plan of insurance, or else by the direct initiative of the social organism, which could directly remunerate those women who are engaged in the work of reproduction and in the case of infancy. In a subsequent chapter the possibilities in this direction and the tendencies already manifest towards such a settlement of the difficulty will be fully discussed.

If society fails to make due allowance to women for the exercise of their sexual and reproductive functions, if women are expected, notwithstanding the exercise of these functions, to continue regular earnings (and such was the expectation of the woman's movement in its early days, though only in these), we are asking from women not merely the same expenditure of energy that is demanded from men, but a twofold, and at times a tenfold, expenditure. By the enforcement of such a demand humanity, through grievous impairment of the forces of motherhood, would be driven into a blind alley, from which it could

emerge only with its progress towards perfection retarded by thousands of years.

The second alternative in accordance with which women's work could become a means to facilitate marriage would be that all women not actively occupied in the work of reproduction should be free to engage in any kind of occupation of which they are physically capable, and should be free to pursue all such occupations with the same independence as men; and it is further essential that for the same work women should receive the same remuneration as men. It is evident that these conditions do not obtain to-day. In so many instances women's work is no more than a means for the provision of pocket money for daughters living with their parents, whilst in the cases of women who are self-dependent the wages must be supplemented by the wages of prostitution. In either case, to the entrepreneur, the fact that he can hire women to do men's work at a lower wage enables him to force down men's wages.

Finally, if wage-earning by women is to facilitate marriage, it must be recognized as a means to this end. A woman must not be deprived of situation and earnings simply because she marries, as now happens in the case of women-teachers, women in government or municipal employ, and frequently also women in private employ. As things are, those who count upon women's work as a means to facilitate marriage, usually find that after all they are forced to choose one horn of the dilemma: occupation, income, and celibacy; or marriage, and loss of situation. But if working for a living is to condemn women to celibacy, its influence must be anti-eugenic, it will necessarily promote the survival of the unfit. Thus in the last resort the maintenance of the family depends on the male, and the difficulty of making an adequate provision for the family is the first and most important of the various factors leading to the continued increase in the number of celibates.

From this causal nexus, whose ultimate determinant is the monopolization of wealth in the capitalist system, there results

the enormous market value of the husband, of the men able and willing to marry. There has consequently come about a grossly unnatural state of affairs, one conflicting sharply with the selective process by which the excellence of the species is maintained and by which the savage races of mankind are preserved from degeneration. The possibility of the selection of the best, the possibility of the continuous improvement of the race, is dependent upon freedom of choice on the part of women (and, of course, also of men). Where women are able to exercise a preference, where they can choose to accept the embraces of the strongest, the fittest, among the men, and to be impregnated by these, there the selective factor is at work. But where, as so often to-day, women must pay (in the form of a dowry) before they can find anyone who is able, under the only authorized conditions, to make them the mothers of the future generation, and where, on the other hand, they have to give themselves to the men best able to buy, to those who in existing circumstances are often damaged articles and from the biological standpoint of inferior quality—there a process of reversed selection is at work, a process leading to the survival of the unfit, and this process is counteracted to some degree only by the light-hearted defiance exhibited by the rebels against our sexual order.

* * * * * * *

Among all savage races the basis of sexual selection is constituted by the greater desirability of certain women. A Maori proverb runs: "However handsome a man may be, he is not the object of desire; however homely a woman may be, she will still be the object of desire." This is how it is among the Maori. But with us it is just the opposite. A woman may be beautiful and charming, and endowed with all possible gifts of mind and heart, and may yet find it difficult "to get a husband." On the other hand, the most pitiable creature among men can find hundreds of women willing to marry him, a fact proved by the career of those who make a regular profession of marrying women and deserting them. Where shall we find the woman, however good

and attractive she may be, with whom hundreds of men would enter the bonds of marriage, and to whom they would all, one after another, make over their savings? "In unions between a member of a higher and a member of a lower race," writes Westermarck, "we almost invariably find that it is the man who belongs to the higher race." But within the limits of our own white race the very reverse of this prevails; and in a union between higher and lower types the woman commonly belongs to the higher, the man to the lower, type. We often encounter couples in which the husband is conspicuously degenerate, while the wife is beautiful and well developed. Very significant in this connection is the current saying: "A man has no need of good looks." No, a man has no need of good looks, and if he wishes to marry he need but raise his finger and as many women will respond to his sign as of old were at the disposal of Don Juan.

Such being the fruits of our economic system, it follows that the natural factors of progressive racial improvement are no longer in operation. Formerly men struggled one with another to possess women, and this struggle seemed to arise by inevitable natural law; it was dependent on the circumstance that the male, who is endowed with greater freedom and mobility because unencumbered by the work of reproduction, must court the female, who is hampered and restricted by the nature of her reproductive functions. Only in response to such courtship would the female surrender herself to the embraces of the male. But the struggle has become a thing of the past, and it appears to be one of the proudest achievements of our progress in civilization to have abrogated this fundamental law. We have, indeed, reversed the process; so that the woman, if she is to get a husband at all, must fight for him, cheat for him, or buy him. Whilst the capacity for reproduction has become dependent upon the economic potency of the male, the act of reproduction itself has in both sexes become a mere matter of social calculation, and has entirely ceased to be a factor in natural selection.

* * * * * * *

The individual and psychological causes of the increasing prevalence of celibacy will be found chiefly in the increasing differentiation of spiritual needs, and in the consequent increasing magnitude of the demands men and women make of their sexual partners. The price of marriage is that the entire working powers of the man, and often those of the woman also, should be pledged in perpetuity; once the partnership is formed, it is ever more difficult to dissolve; its very attainment is possible only through the harmonious coöperation of hundreds of factors. Marriage practically precludes the possibility of any subsequent sexual preference, and demands as a prerequisite that there shall be harmony, not only in respect of the social position of husband and wife, but further in respect of their individual and personal inclinations, habits and opinions. If this latter demand is to-day so much more insistent than it was in former times, may we not find the explanation in the fact that the truly individual consciousness tends more and more to preponderate over the class consciousness or even the national consciousness of the individual? In earlier times the individual represented, to a much greater extent than he does to-day, the type of his country, his race, his co-linguals, his profession, his guild or his class. All such distinctions give place more and more to a cosmopolitan individualism. Within the limits of a homogeneous community, the partner in marriage could in former days be found with comparative ease, for that which was demanded was chiefly the distinctive characteristics of the members of such a community. But to-day, when a hundred individual traits of character must find in another their satisfactory complement, whilst the social conditions for marriage have to be simultaneously fulfilled, can we wonder that this union becomes increasingly difficult of attainment? Further, by a correlative manifestation, the sexual impulse tends under analysis to become progressively weaker. For the male, especially, there are innumerable ways of diverting or calming the impulse; and by recourse to prostitution, or by living in an unfettered "intimacy" he is able to gratify it to such an extent that he will not

be likely to allow anyone "to make a fool of him." Perversions of every kind such as prevail in all classes of society play their part in curbing the power of the sexual impulse, of the impulse by which men and women are drawn together and led to form unions. A strong attraction towards one of the opposite sex is now apt to be regarded with mistrust from the outset; it is thought to be dangerous; it is analyzed and explained; and at length it is "happily overcome." Thus by diversion or weakening of the sexual impulse there is often effected what is regarded as a victory of reason; but we ignore the manifest purpose of nature, seeing that the true function of the sexual impulse is to secure the products of cross-fertilization.

* * * * * * *

The racial and biological obstacles to marriage are no more than an amplification of those that are individual in character. Why is the right man or the right woman so difficult to find? Above all, because it is at the right moment and in suitable circumstances that the right partner must be found. Somewhere in the universe this partner may exist; but in Mars, perhaps, while the other ideal sexual partner is on earth.

Sooner and oftener, however, would the desired mate be encountered did there exist a greater number of individuals whose personality is competent to satisfy and rejoice others. If one meets his or her true sexual complement, the right mate for the other has obviously also been found. Now when we say that a race undergoes degeneration, we mean no more than this: that innumerable individuals belonging to that race have deteriorated in respect of bodily and mental qualities, and that they are increasingly unable to satisfy one another's desire for happiness. It is a consequence of those conditions of our civilization whereby the working of the selective process has been falsified, that such states of mental and bodily inferiority, being transmissible by inheritance, tend increasingly to prevail.

We have traversed the entire circumference of the vicious circle, and have returned to our starting-point.

Under the conditions at present sanctioned by society, procreation must be effected within the limits of legal marriage, and for marriage to be possible a hundred different social factors must co-operate. Sexual selection is the very last thing to be considered. Children procreated as the result of a genuine sexual selection, as the fruit of a union of mutual attraction completely independent of economic or social considerations—such children must not be born. If born, they are condemned to a social environment which makes degradation inevitable. We are often assured that the terribly high death-rate among illegitimate children furnishes a proof of the unfortunate biological results of free sexual unions; but in no sense whatever can it be claimed that this death-rate is a manifestation of natural law, for it is due solely to the evil social conditions artificially imposed upon the illegitimate, and far from being a proof of the necessity for the existing sexual order it furnishes an effective condemnation of that order. Among legitimate offspring, on the other hand, children are born to fathers who have exhausted their best energies in the fierce struggle for existence, and to fathers who, during the years in which they were not in a position to marry, have squandered their biological forces in the morass of prostitution; children are born to mothers who have been infected by their husbands, to mothers who have had no genuine freedom in the choice of a mate, to mothers in whom stigmata of degeneration have been ignored owing to the possession of a substantial dowry, to mothers who commonly exhibit no more than a passable average of intellectual and moral endowments—for women of exceptional capacity do not willingly surrender their freedom of choice, and therefore less often marry and reproduce their kind. Moreover, in the case of the proletariat, children are born to progenitors weakened by excessive toil, alcoholism and semi-starvation.

But the children who are not born are the children of young, beautiful, strong and healthy human beings; the children of those whose union is the outcome simply of mutual desire, of the delight each takes in the other; the children of those drawn

together by the clear call of an unsophisticated sexual impulse. In our world such children have no place.

* * * * * * *

"By their fruits ye shall know them." By its fruits, then, must we judge the institution of monogamic marriage, regarded as the only permissible means for the perpetuation of the species. To every man, the appearance of every woman of a suitable age is pleasing; and conversely. Hence, under natural conditions, the chance of finding a suitable partner for a permanent sexual union, selected from among the numberless desirable human beings of appropriate age, would be as great as it is small in the conditions that obtain to-day. In the actual world we find that men and women are apt to fight shy of one another when the possibility of marriage is involved; and more especially do we see the better specimens of our race maintaining an inhuman isolation. Here we have the racial and biological reason for the increase of celibacy.

* * * * * * *

The legislative and social causes of the increasing prevalence of celibacy are to be found in the mousetrap-like structure of marriage. The instant those attracted by the bait have entered the trap, the door snaps to behind them. To sign a private contract and to interchange medical certificates of health should be essential preliminaries to marriage. To-day if one partner demand a private marriage contract, the other is likely to take offense. Moreover, it is hardly possible for the isolated individual to foresee all the risks it is desirable to guard against, or to describe them in appropriate terms. What we need is a scheme for general application, subject to modification as occasion requires. In the absence of a special and elaborate contract, the risks of marriage are enormous. Both the sexual partners, but especially the woman, are menaced with the gravest dangers to body, life and property. Possessions, health, children, personal freedom—all now become dependent on the goodwill of another individual, and should the marriage prove unfortunate, to regain freedom will often require

superhuman exertions. Thus an additional reason for the progressive diminution in the marriage-rate is to be found in the difficulty of divorce. People think twice before entering this mouse-trap.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF MARRIAGE

Program of the "Revolutionists."

Meyer-Benfey speaks of "an idol-worship of outward forms and institutions, to which living human beings are sacrificed as if to an insatiable Moloch."[1] Yet the impulse towards the establishment of forms and institutions, in order to intercept, preserve and utilize the free and untamed elemenary forces, is in its nature one tending to promote racial survival. Forms and institutions—in a word, an established order—are necessary; but they must be renewed when they have become old and harmful. Of the forces of the sexual life, above all, it is true that they need to be under the control of an "order" whereby they may be regulated and supervised. Even the duplex code of sexual morality, whereon is grounded the existing order for men and for women respectively, was originally a device for the protection of women and the safeguarding of procreation. But a protective device which can subsist only through giving the lie to nature does more harm than good to those who employ it. We learn from the sex-tragedies of all ages that woman needs to be protected against man when she enters into erotic relationships with him. We look, however, to the future to furnish for woman and for her precious freight, the child, protective measures more trustworthy than those which have hitherto existed—for of these the climax is the demand that woman shall renounce the exercise of her sexual faculties unless the man to whom she gives herself is fettered for all time to her side.

[1] "Die neue Ethik und ihre Gegner," *Die neue Generation*, fourth year of issue, No. 5.

The inmost meaning of this tendency to fetter the man is to be found where we find also the very center of the sex war, namely, in the differences between sexual sensibility in the respective sexes. But we have to inquire if the fickleness of the male, his polygamous inclination, as contrasted with the need for dependence characteristic of the female, is organic; are the differences between the sexes in this respect inalterable, because based upon fundamental distinctions in the sexual sensibility of man and woman respectively; or are they, on the contrary, socially determined, are they due simply to the numerical ratio between the sexes, to the higgling of the market, are they the result of "supply and demand"? These questions cannot be answered until economic and moral equality between the sexes shall have been established. If the need for dependence of the woman, as contrasted with the discursive sexual impulse of the male, striving always against the chain, be indeed socially determined, none the less that need has become woman's second nature, so that if she, with her child, were to be freed from existing restraints, and if, in the absence of all legal control of sex-relationships, and without being entitled to the protection of any man in particular, she could pass freely from the hands of one man to those of another, there can be little doubt that she would suffer greatly.

Woman's need for dependence, if it be socially determined, belongs to that group of evolutionary phenomena which have arisen in the course of the struggle for existence between different human aggregates. But if the difference between man and woman in this respect be radical and organic, if it it be an inalterable specific character, then the burden of woman will necessarily and always be heavier than that of man; for all time, sorrow and suffering will be her lot. That one is always the higher who has the greater freedom. Not, however, until the endowment of motherhood is an accomplished fact will it become possible to determine whether the difference we have been considering be indeed organic, or no more than a transient product of social causation.

From the dawn of human history mankind has felt instinctively that a fenced enclosure was requisite for the wonderful and mysterious processes of the sexual life. In his *History of Human Marriage,* Westermarck endeavors to prove that marriage has always existed even in the very lowest races of mankind. He defines marriage as "a more or less enduring union between man and woman, lasting throughout the period of reproductive activity and until after the birth of the offspring." But there are no grounds whatever for rejecting the assumption that to a considerable extent the herd relieved individual parents of the duty of feeding their offspring, more especially as the existence of a recognized fatherhood can be established only in connection with the (comparatively recent) institution of monogamy. Several men and several women would combine to form a permanent community, not only for the protection of the young, but also to lighten their own economic tasks and for the mutual aid in defense against enemies; these two instincts furnish an adequate explanation of the tendency to form communal groups. Herodotus, referring to a North African tribe, writes: "They live like cattle and have no regular domestic life with their women."

This, it will be seen, conflicts altogether with the views of Westermarck. It is a most characteristic fact that, in popular estimation, the essence of marriage is always to be found in a common domestic life. That which imposes a tie and makes the sexual companionship an enduring one is not the birth of a child, but the continued *publicly acknowledged* domestic life in common. This latter it is which frees man and woman alike from the dangerous power of an incalculable natural force—the force of passionate love, which, to quote a modern poet,[2] "is good to-day and bites to-morrow"—insuring the sexual partners against a power which Moloch-like, is gracious only on condition of an unceasing supply of fresh food, and substituting mutual aid as the basis of the relationship for its original foundation in an ever-renewed erotic stimulus. It is, perhaps, this factor in the problem which

[2] Geijerstam.

is most decisive in producing our conviction that marriage cannot be entirely superseded by any other form of sexual relationship.

* * * * * * *

What the modern "revolutionists" attack is not marriage as such, not the root-principle of marriage: but they object to the form in which that principle is embodied within the existing economic order, they condemn the fetters and shackles which it imposes on the individual, and they contend that it is wrong that the possibility of reproduction and consequently of selection should be exclusively dependent upon this single form of sexual association. In my own opinion, indeed, this form of marriage, that namely, in which the erotic life of every individual tends towards a permanent sexual and social union with a single member of the opposite sex, is the one for whose attainment both sexes will and should forever strive. But from its very nature the goal can be attained only by traversing manifold phases of life. An eternal pledge must not be enforced by coercion.

To-day human beings are driven into a blind alley: for, on the one hand, a ban is placed upon any other sexual relationship than the officially recognized one of legal marriage, whilst, on the other hand, marriage is rendered more and more difficult, for its attainment is possible only through the overcoming of difficulties and the acceptance of burdens which involve increasing individual hardship. Under natural conditions marriage should be an alleviation of the struggle for existence. To-day, save in rare instances, it is a shackle, a handicap in the social conflict, or a mere commercial speculation. Voluntary choice by persons under the influence of mutual attraction is the indispensable prerequisite of a marriage that shall favor racial improvement; but the modern sexual order tramples this demand under foot. Thus the campaign of those who would revolutionize the forms of our sexual life is directed, not against the principle of marriage, but against the perversions of that principle in the actual sexual order. They aim at complete freedom for all those forms of the erotic life which promote racial progress; freedom, above all, for

the work of reproduction in so far as this is the outcome of unrestricted natural selection. Did such freedom exist, it would still in all cases be the individual's ultimate aim to secure a permanent association with the most suitable mate, and only under the ægis of freedom can this mate be found. By the existing order of coercive marriage the individual who will not consent to enter the bonds imposed by that order is condemned either to celibacy, or else to the *wild* sexual life which, in contradistinction to the *free* sexual life, pursues its disastrous course beneath the surface of official society.

Coercive marriage, the enforced celibacy of persons fit for procreation, and the "wild intimacy" carried on in secret and in defiance of every kind of order—all these coöperate to poison at the source the best springs of human energy. Beyond question, the secret libertinage to which individuals are constrained, owing to non-existence of any publicly recognized freedom of erotic relationships, is productive of evil for the race and of much unhappiness for its individual members.

BOOK II

MARRIAGE AND THE FORMS AND RESULTS OF ITS EVASION WITHIN THE EXISTING SEXUAL ORDER

It is better to marry than to burn.
THE APOSTLE PAUL.

CHAPTER III

THE LEGAL COEFFICIENT OF MARRIAGE

Analysis of the Concept "Marriage." Intrinsic Dangers of the Illegitimate Erotic Intimacy. "Love-loathing."

BY the legal coefficient of marriage we understand the binding together of a man and a woman by law, custom, and economic partnership, either irrevocably, or else in an association which cannot be dissolved without great difficulty. The principle underlying legal marriage, in accordance with which procreation is permissible only on condition that the nest is already built for the reception of the young and that the father will remain at hand to safeguard them through life, would be an admirable one, were it not that, as experience shows, valuable biological elements are thereby very frequently excluded from reproduction—for the principle which underlies marriage is also the cause of all the difficulties that stand in the way of marriage.

Natural selection, as it operates in human society to-day, tends mainly to encourage procreation, on the one hand by the economically fittest (who must on no account be regarded as identical with those characterized by biological and spiritual prëminence), and on the other hand by the proletariat, whose increase is at once involuntary and immoderate. We need only look around us

to perceive illustrations of the value of such selection as results from the existing form of marriage. There is hardly one person in a hundred of those who bear the name of human, devoid of some obscure, incalculable stigma, from which every anti-social growth may proliferate like a cancer and endanger the very foundations of human society. If in a tramcar, in a public meeting, or as we walk through the streets, we look attentively at our fellows, we cannot fail to be horror-stricken at the ugliness and stupidity everywhere manifest. We shall often be astonished to note that among twenty persons successively examined we shall not find a single one free from the characteristics of arrested or perverted development—not one whose appearance can fail to arouse in us an instinctive sense of antipathy. Yet to every human being it is only through other human beings that the profoundest and most fruitful joy can come. By the continued excessive increase of the less fit, by continued bad breeding, by continued lessening of the chances of free selection, the possibility of happiness is reduced at an accelerating speed—reduced to the minimum which good fortune still preserves for us.

The fenced precinct provided by the institution of legal marriage has so many attractive features and is the source of so large a number of favorable influences, that we are forced to regret that this institution should be dependent upon a large number of economic and social factors whereby its attainment is rendered increasingly difficult. Marriage serves to protect, not youth only, but in part also woman—for a woman with her children the permanent union with a man affords, if not safety, at least help, and furnishes the sole form of child-protection and motherhood-protection hitherto instituted by human society. Hence, in virtue of this protective influence, and for so long a time as we continue to lack a loftier, stronger, and more trustworthy protective environment for the social function of procreation, legal marriage will remain indispensable to mother and children alike. In addition, within the existing social system, the institution of legal marriage offers the best means at present available of attain-

ing an extremely desirable state, one which provides the individual with the fullest opportunities for a healthy development.

Among all forms of sexual relationship possible to-day it is marriage which affords the best guarantees for what Professor Freud has termed "sexual security." Christian von Ehrenfels, Professor of Philosophy at Prague, whose proposals for sexual reform will be fully examined in a subsequent chapter, defines this state as "the secure provision of regular sensual gratification, obtainable without any trouble . . . and free from all need for the expenditure of energy in seeking or in changing sexual partners—the gratification being obtained in intercourse with one whose personality is cordially sympathetic." He proceeds to pour out the vials of his scorn upon those who advocate the attainment of such a state. Yet this state offers an advantage whose value can hardly be overestimated, for it conserves the individual's energies for the due performance of his share of social labor without exposing him to the state of deprivation which is the general effect of sexual abstinence.

If the individual, male or female, every time "sensual enjoyment" becomes necessary, or, as I prefer to phrase it, every time the discharge of sexual tension becomes essential, have to make a fresh "conquest," or even to seek opportunities far afield, a large modicum of energy will be expended in this way, and the amount available for social labor will be proportionally diminished. If, on the other hand, the relief of sexual tension be altogether renounced, those who adopt this course sin against the laws of their being, and the accumulated sexual tensions will hinder the proper utilization of their other energies.

Outside the limits of legal marriage it is, to-day, extremely difficult to attain to a normal sexual life. Illegitimate sexual intercourse entails social dangers, and dangers to body and to mind; and it often involves extremely distressing accompaniments. Moreover, such intercourse is commonly episodical, irregular, and threatened by a thousand contrarieties of mood and milieu. Marriage still offers the best regulated and relatively the safest sexual

life. The unmarried European male oscillates between the two poles of transient excesses and a state of erotic repulsion. To this condition a German author[1] has given the name of "love-loathing" (*Liebesverdrossenheit*). In the modern civilized world the claims upon a man's working powers are most exacting; he has to face troubles, to solve problems, to perform tasks, and to meet alarms, of every possible kind; and he has to do all these things with very little time to spare. Except under the form of marriage, an institution which provides a favorable environment for intercourse with his wife, it is difficult for him to find time, opportunity, and inclination for sexual gratification in any other shape than that of casual and irregular prostitution. In the urgency of sexual need he has recourse to prostitution as the only door of escape. Even the intimacy (*liaison*) with a lower-middle-class girl of sympathetic disposition is a relationship into which he is increasingly averse to enter; and a woman of his own station in life, willing to give herself to him on terms of perfect equality and independence, is by the modern man actually shunned as dangerous. Strange as this assertion may seem to many, the fact is indubitable. The modern man is far more likely to enter into a permanent intimacy with a paid "mistress" than with an equal who gives herself to him purely for love. The fact that on his side he has had to make material sacrifices, that he has "invested capital" in a particular woman, makes this woman appear especially desirable to him. Since he is highly susceptible to suggestions of this order, the relationship comes to seem something which it is worth making efforts to preserve.

Turning from men of common type to consider those with finer endowments, we are struck by the fact that the latter are to-day afraid of passionate love. They dread any sexual relationship grounded on profound erotic sensibilities rather than upon class suitability and upon reciprocal social claims. So greatly do such men fear a passionate "entanglement" that they often take to flight as soon as they become aware that their own feelings

[1] Oskar H. Schmitz.

are strongly involved. But absolute celibacy is unsocial and unwholesome, and, moreover, men desire offspring and the amenities of domestic life. Hence the acceptance of legal marriage, a relationship which is far from fulfilling man's entire possibilities, but one which secures for him the requisite vital contact with the female of his species.

These considerations will perhaps help us to understand why an illicit love-relationship, even when entered into on grounds of genuine feeling, is apt to be of but brief duration. We can understand why the position of the inamorata is so insecure in comparison with that of the wife, and why to the man even more than to the woman domestic life under the form of legal marriage is essential to the proper regulation of the energies. These considerations explain the almost instinctive anxiety which men feel in an illicit love-intimacy which they have deliberately sought and entered into. They may also explain the brutal way in which, in such relationships, the woman is sometimes cast off by the man. To-day, an illicit love-intimacy must either pass on into marriage—or be dissolved. The complete man, the strong man, the man able without danger to accept love as part of his life-complex, to admit love and to hold fast to love—such a man is not of our time.

This reluctance to love and incapacity for love exhibited by the modern man is the tragedy of the modern woman—and in one way only can she avoid a tragic consummation. She also must find an adequate outlet for her vital energies in social activities (and in motherhood), and must not expect it from sexual love alone.

Never was love in greater need than to-day of the "fenced precinct," of the enclosure carefully guarded against all hostile external forces. Since the essential aim of this book is to expose to the clear light of day the more distressing features of the existing sexual order, it is impossible to ignore matters of this kind, or to gloss them over by idealizing human nature. We must try to discover by an unprejudiced investigation why it is that this

fenced precinct of marriage, whose influence we have seen to be anti-eugenic and hostile to the progressive evolution of our species, is nevertheless still necessary; and to ascertain in what conditions it may become possible to dispense with it altogether or to prune it of its unfavorable characteristics and to render its working more efficient.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL COEFFICIENT OF MARRIAGE

Its Indispensable Character. Ideal of a Permanent Sexual and Social Bond as the Basis of Marriage. Contrast between This Ideal and the Actual Marriage of Our Day.

It is impossible to overlook the fact that the prospect of marriage becomes continually more remote, the sacrifice of women more uncompromising, the change of relationships more frequent. It is a logical sequence that the rise of a new order should be preceded by a period of grave disorder, and through such a period we are now passing. "How is one to marry and to give in marriage," despairingly asks the old Princess Tscherbatzky, in Tolstoi's *Anna Karenina,* "since neither the English fashion nor the French fashion works properly?" Among the common people the possession of a wife is still a precious privilege, one for which men will fight to the death. Only among the cultured classes do we find that women are a drug in the market. Women offering themselves are a conspicuous feature in the social activities of upper-class society. The woman courts the man in every possible way. But the natural method is the reverse of this; the man courts the woman, fighting, wrestling, quarreling with his rivals. Why do we regard this as nature's methods and our present developments as a perversion? In the first place because, as previously explained, in the act of sexual congress it is the woman who runs the risk, and, secondly, because the male represents the aggressive principle in nature. By the very structure of his body, the male is compelled to the pursuit of an object for the satisfaction of his desires.

Thus an essential perversion falsifies the relations of the sexes.

The legal coefficient of marriage, with all the complications which the legal marriage-bond now involves, has put an end to the natural courtship of the woman by the man, and the pursuer has become the pursued. It seems probable that this particular coefficient of marriage, the legal bond, needs to be replaced by an economic and sexual order better adapted to the requirements of human nature—an order essentially different from that which now obtains. But the principle of marriage, of the permanent monogamic sexual union, includes another coefficient in addition to the legal coefficient—a factor of inestimable value. In any reform of sex relationships it is necessary that the permanent association of one man with one woman should be preserved, for otherwise mankind will lose a most important acquirement.

It is this factor of the endurance of sexual alliances which, amid all possible legal variations of the marriage bond, constitutes the ultimate principle of marriage; this is the indispensable characteristic, in default of which marriage cannot properly be said to exist; this is an element of higher civilization which it is essential to preserve and maintain whenever it is endangered amid the attacks upon the legal coefficient of marriage. The public acknowledgment of a sexual association fulfills two distinct functions: in the first place, those who enter into this publicly acknowledged relationship are protected from without, inasmuch as, in virtue of their unrestricted and open companionship, their joint energies exceed those of two isolated individuals (for in social life the combination of two equal forces gives more than the double yield of either force in isolation—almost perhaps the triple yield); in the second place, they are protected from within, against the danger—a very great one in the free union of to-day—threatening from that elementary force "which is good to-day and bites to-morrow."

* * * * * * *

The essential characteristic of marriage, as we have learned indeed from the history of primitive peoples, is not cohabitation, nor yet the impregnation of a woman; it consists in the circum-

stanee that the woman shares the man's house, and that the couple publiely admit their sexual companionship. In default of this, a sexual relationship is merely an "intimaey." Mutual intercourse, even if permanent and intimate, does not really bring about complete mutual understanding, for this can arise only when the man and the woman dwell together, work together, and administer a joint household—presupposing, of course, that they are also inwardly at one. The task of the future is to make such sexual unions easily attainable in an order widely different from the profoundly unnatural and anti-seleetive marriage-system of the present day.

The permanent and complete domestie community of man and woman must be effeeted in a marriage of the freest possible form, one in which there exists mutual eeonomie independenee. The permaneney of this marriage of the future will not be ensured by any compulsion; the marriage will be the outcome of pure seleetion, and it will be distinguished from the marriage of to-day above all in this, that it will neither be the only permissible form of erotie life nor the sole authorized method of reproduetion. It will not be the marriage-form whieh half-evolved human beings are foreed to aeeept "to all eternity"; it will not be the only eard upon which, in blind submission to ehance, the fate of human soeiety is staked. The marriage of the future will be a terminal phase, to be attained when the individual man and the individual woman have gained full enlightenment, when their impulsive life has become calmer than it is to-day, when they have reaehed a higher and a freer stage of conseiousness. It will be attained when men and women are able to find their true life-eompanions without any eompromise that may endanger the development of either, or may work injury to the species. In a word, the attainment of this terminal phase of marriage cannot be effected before the aequirement of mental and eeonomie freedom. In a subsequent ehapter we shall endeavor to indicate the paths leading towards this goal. Our present aim is merely to analyze and describe the state whieh passes by the name of marriage, to show which ele-

ments of this complex are of essential importance, and to distinguish these from those other elements dependent upon transient conditions of our time and destined to disappear when the crisis of the existing sexual order has been overcome. We have to determine which elements of this complex are, on the other hand, indispensable to the maintenance and well-being of the species, and therefore destined to persist in substance however much they may vary in form.

We regard the social factor of marriage as an enduring human need. If a man and a woman are to find complete mutual satisfaction in a sexual companionship, it is necessary that they should coöperate plainly and publicly. It is incontestable that a sexual relationship which is not based upon the full association of the two lives is profoundly unsatisfying. The most intimate association is further essential for the constitution of a force to counteract those external influences tending to draw the two individuals apart. It is not enough that there should be a close union of hearts, since for effective resistance to these disintegrating influences it is indispensable that the pair should also be united by the thousand and one bonds of a common social life. Human beings, struggling in a competitive world, can more readily dispense with the loved one than with the companion. Hence the individual will always strive instinctively to find a life-companion; and the change of such companionship dictated by external circumstances will cause grievous suffering—to all those, at least, to whom erotic experience seems an essential part of their life-history. If the enforced endurance of an utterly distasteful sexual companionship be painful, it is no less painful to be compelled in every phase of life to search for a new life-companion, a new sexual comrade.

An additional reason for the open recognition of a sexual-social relationship lies in the circumstance that in default of such open recognition the couple cannot mutually enjoy the good offices of the friends of either, and they must forego the other advantages of a common life before the world. A relationship limited to a

secret *tête-à-tête* is tainted with the seeds of disease. It is upon this enforced secrecy that the "free" sexual union is so often shipwrecked; and, precisely because of this secrecy, such an intimacy is a thousandfold less free than the most fettered form of marriage. One of the first needs of a sexual order which shall rid us of the network of lies and hypocrisies in which our social life is now enmeshed is the frank public recognition of those sexual intimacies that must arise during the development of young people and are inevitably transient in duration. The demand for a "provisional" wife and for a "provisional" husband, able in either case to satisfy the most urgent needs of the earlier years of sexual maturity, but only during those years and not later, is a demand whose open satisfaction society must learn to admit. To-day this demand, which is the joint outcome of a natural and an artificial need (the latter imposed by the conditions of our civilization), is refused or ignored, and the manifestations of the illicit satisfaction of the demand are also ignored, or are visited with social contempt and obloquy. Strindberg has described for us the meaning to the male of those "ten years on the rack," from the age when the puberal development is completed to the age when a man becomes "socially fit" for marriage. What these same years mean for women has perhaps still to be told.

A union easily dissolved, but one entered into under official sanction, would seem to be the form best adopted to satisfy the mental requirements of our own and ensuing generations. But if the ready dissolution of sexual unions is to be recognized, it necessarily follows that society must be prepared to countenance the succession of a number of such unions on the part of any one individual. Nothing can be more natural than that a truly satisfying sexual partnership should be attained, if at all, only after repeated experiments. The moral hypocrisy which leads people to look askance at a woman who has taken a third husband is among the most offensive of our conventional lies. In the life-history of almost every man there has been a long series of amatory experiences with successive women. Having regard to the incal-

culable complexity of character of most human individuals, in view of the fact that a man and a woman cannot really learn to know one another except by living together (or at any rate cannot possibly know one another until after the act of physical union has been effected), and seeing that not until comparatively late in life do we gain a full understanding of our own characters and our own needs, it is surely unreasonable to expect that the right sexual partner should be found at the very first attempt.

The liberty to dissolve a sexual union, when found unendurable, must be secured, not merely by the letter of the law, but further by the moral recognition of this liberty by society.

CHAPTER V

THE COEFFICIENT OF SUGGESTION IN MARRIAGE

Critique of the Free Love Intimacy of To-day. Danger of Sexual Relationships Outside the Pale of the Law. Danger of Marriage without Probation. Trial Marriage in History. Concubinage.

The form of sexual association represented by the marriage of to-day preserves the individual from a pernicious loneliness, renders possible the attainment of a regulated sexual life, facilitates parenthood, and facilitates also association with other human beings. This form of legitimized sexual partnership possesses an additional advantage whose importance, in view of the suggestibility of the human mind, must not be underestimated: the sense of "being married" involved in an entrance into legal marriage is indeed the most desirable characteristic of this state, although the one whose advantages are most frequently abused.

An experimental love-comradeship involves considerable dangers, and this precisely because the union is admittedly experimental. Neither economic and social reasons nor moral reasons speak so strongly in favor of the official recognition of marriage as does this factor last mentioned, the suggestibility of the human mind. From the very outset of an experimental sexual partnership the knowledge that it may be terminated at any moment and that it is fully exposed to the dangers of crises of sentiment, introduces into the relationship a feeling of uneasiness and instability. Moreover, the experimental note is out of harmony with the idea of love which, since the days of primitive man, has always striven to bind the loved ones together.

When we speak of the marriage bond we think of the most intimate association possible and make use of a metaphor based

upon the idea of the physical action of binding. The suggestion that there are no bonds at all cuts away from beneath the feet of the lovers the standing ground of security. Certain earnest modern reformers, actuated unquestionably by profoundly moral intentions, demand that each partner should unceasingly woo the other; but this practice is apt to bring about the very opposite result from that which is desired, for if either partner too persistently woos the other, the latter, especially in the case of the male, has a tendency to become cool. Moreover, such continuous erotic emotion is but little calculated to bring about that peaceful, quiet, unconcerned, and free disposition of mind which human beings need for the proper performance of their social activities.

Above all to-day, when in favor of "free love" so many lances are splintered, and splintered by noble hands, we cannot refrain from insisting upon the profound dangers inseparable from such an intimacy—at any rate in view of the existing structure of society and of the nature of the human material of which it is made up. But it is far from being our intention to underestimate the extremely powerful influences which are now tending to promote the formation of free unions, and it is hardly necessary to add that we have no sympathy for the conventional and lying hypocrisy with which such intimacies are often condemned. Their dangers, however, are very real, and the actual study of free unions will show that these dangers are more extensive than their advocates are apt to imagine.

In the free intimacy the partners expect from one another a continuous stimulation, but in marriage, after a short time, no such demand is made, and social amenities and a common life take the place of this stimulation. The claims made upon the individual by the free intimacy are altogether excessive, and at the same time, in the intimacy, there is less personal contact between the partners than occurs in marriage. In the latter state, where we have to do with persons who are really glad to be together, the assured common environment abolishes numerous causes of friction and irritation. In an intimacy, subordinated as it is to

moods and environmental difficulties, peace is not to be found. It is the environmental difficulties, above all, which are the bitterest enemies of the free lovers. Moreover, the love-intimacy which is not based upon a socially recognized common domestic life, one in which the lovers see one another only on casual visits, involves by its very nature practical difficulties of technique.

Modern men and to some extent modern women are apt to be overburdened with work. When, where, and how shall the secret sexual partners meet, and how shall they best spend the flying hours in order to obtain from them the fullest possible satisfaction? When it is the woman who has to await the man's visits, it often happens that too much of her mental energy, her intellectual tension, is expended in the expectation of each visit, for amid the complexities of modern life obstacles are encountered, and whether these obstacles are or are not successfully overcome, great wear and tear of nervous tissue must necessarily ensue. From the man, again, the visits often demand more time than his work allows. In addition, we have to take into account the difficulties involved in maintaining secrecy. Misunderstandings readily arise, and from these, but no less from waiting, from postponement of meetings, from the failure to meet and so on, there results a distressing expenditure of energy. The anxious expectation of anyone's visits, an expectation which, on the woman's side, is often prolonged, tense, and fruitless, puts an end to all sense of internal freedom. (It is perhaps not superfluous to repeat that these difficulties attach to the secret intimacy, because it is secret, and do not arise simply from the non-existence of any legal bond. It is the common and acknowledged domestic life of the sexual partners which constitutes, as we have shown, the essential characteristic of marriage;[2] concubinage, whenever it is socially recognized, has

[2] Santayana, in his essay on Dante, alluding to the doom of Paolo and Francesca, writes: "Love itself dreams of more than mere possession; to conceive happiness, it must conceive a life to be shared in a varied world, full of events and activities which shall be new and ideal bonds between the lovers. But unlawful love cannot pass out into this public fulfilment. It is condemned to be mere possession—possession in the dark, without an environ-

therefore the character of marriage and is freed from the technical dangers of the secret intimacy.)

The ascetic mood of the modern man is also inimical, in a secret love-intimacy, to the woman's chances of happiness. In ordinary married life, man, the most suggestible of all animals, is subject to the enduring suggestion that in his relations with his wife and family he has a duty to fulfill, and this suggestion exercises a calmative influence. But the man engaged in a love-intimacy is usually subject to auto-suggestions of a disturbing character, suggestions to the effect that his conduct is influenced by "lust." If the man visits his mistress regularly he soon comes to regard himself as a sort of Tannhäuser in pocket edition. Now to a woman it is distasteful that anyone should consider her to be a perpetual "temptation to sin." The married woman, when beloved, can enjoy all love's pleasures without being regarded as a Circe from whose arms a man must escape if he is to preserve his manhood.

Intercourse with the beloved one, in the secret intimacy, involves an expenditure of time. The married woman, on the other hand, is not open to the reproach of wasting her husband's time. She lives with him, sees him, and converses with him, and yet he need not devote his time to the payment of special visits. In the intimacy, the man's ascetic mood leads him to keep count of the hours his visits cost him, and he expects the woman to occupy these costly hours in a sufficiently stimulating manner; but in marriage no such demand is made of the wife, for she is not expected to be stimulating whenever she is with her husband. Leaden-footed hours are evils none can escape, but when the time hangs heavily during the visits of the love-intimates the end is not far off.

In marriage, each partner is always available for the other without any circumstantial *mise en scène*. The married pair need

ment, without a future. It is love among the ruins. And it is precisely this that is the torment of Paolo and Francesca—love among the ruins of themselves and of all else they might have had to give to one another."—*Three Philosophical Poets*, pp. 119-120.—*Translator's Note.*

not devote long and costly hours to conversation and erotic interludes; yet they remain in the most intimate association, gain energy from their mutual proximity, and are able to speak to one another on any subject whenever they like. In the intimacy, moreover, there are psycho-physical dangers arising from the enforced parting of the lovers in the gray morning hours, on that "morrow" in which the day's work is done with only a fraction of the usual vigor, and this contributes to the complex group of injurious influences threatening the happiness and stability of the secret relationship.

Let us have no illusions about the fact that the free union is always in a condition of unstable equilibrium, dependent from day to day for its security upon every changing mood, interfered with by every physiological or circumstantial disturbance, and exposed from without and from within to enemies of every possible kind. The secret lovers themselves know this all too well, and one or the other of them, often each in turn, trembles for the permanence of their happiness. As a consequence those united in such a relationship are never completely free from mutual reserves. Without cessation they weigh and consider all possible circumstances bearing upon the relationship, so that an unwholesome study of their own conduct and of one another's is the usual practice of the partners in this form of the amatory life. More and more impossible becomes the most valuable of all the experiences in which human beings can share, namely, the direction of their energies towards a common object—since for devotion to such an end a sense of internal freedom is indispensable. The requisite peace of mind is attainable only through a consciousness of the existence of that fenced precinct whereby the love relationship can be protected against enemies from without and from within.

The most intense feeling of happiness which any individual can experience in relationship with another is not the consciousness of passionate love, but the sense of perfect mutual trust and of unconditional interdependence. One kind of sexual relation-

ship alone, marriage—in the sense above defined, and not the mere form of marriage—is competent to arouse this feeling, and marriage itself can do so only when it has persisted for a number of years. If I am not mistaken, it was Julie de Lespinasse who described the most perfect happiness as that of "finding peace in the heart of another." "Thou art peace; in thee I find repose": this is the formula of salvation. One who finds this profoundest peace in another's spirit will always demand the creation of a fenced precinct for the protection of himself and his beloved against all hostile influences tending to force them asunder.

* * * * * * *

The subject has hitherto been discussed without any reference to the social dangers and sufferings which an unfettered love-intimacy involves. These dangers arise out of the peculiar conditions of our own time and are therefore susceptible of alteration; they are independent of any factor deeply rooted in human nature, differing in this respect from the intrinsic dangers previously discussed. I am far from denying that for many persons this form of love-relationship may be the most desirable of all, and indeed (in view of the present difficulties and dangers of legal marriage) the only possible form, since to many the only choice open is between this form of love and erotic starvation. A truly civilized sensibility will never attempt to enforce the maintenance of the "best possible" form of any social relationship. The elementary human right of individual choice is disregarded unless there be granted social freedom for every variety of amatory life which works no harm to the species. The nature of the present sexual crisis is, indeed, very clearly displayed by the fact that it has been necessary to furnish a parallel demonstration of the risks and difficulties of marriage and of the dangers of the free love-intimacy.

* * * * * * *

The question arises whether free intimacies are so dangerous only because they exist beside and between legal marriages. It may be asked whether the free union would have a better chance if

marriage, which looks askance at every free intimacy, did not exist. All that can be said with certainty is that the human beings of to-day, and especially the males, are unable in practice to make a success of such unions. If both the partners are single, the man is afraid of being "entrapped" into marriage; if one or both are already married they are haunted by the fear of scandal and tormented by the need for persistent deception.

Again, for economic or social reasons, it may become necessary for one of the free intimates to contract a marital alliance with some third person. It is upon the rock of marriage that most free unions are shipwrecked. If there existed no other form of sexual relationship than the free union, it is possible that men would acquire the power of enjoying this unfettered freedom even in the absence of legal bonds and conjugal coercion; that they would learn to conduct themselves with the tact and consideration that are as a rule so utterly lacking in the male partners of the secret free unions of to-day. Why is it that after a brief enjoyment of such an intimacy the man so often surreptitiously departs? Usually because he feels that the intimacy imposes no duties upon him. In this situation, bearing the name of freedom, he is unable to give himself up to a really free enjoyment, the reason being that the free intimacy threatens the integrity of marriage, an institution which he desires to safeguard at any cost.

Hence, among all the variations of free love, gallant love is the most successful. The suggestion of freedom lasts longest when the liaison is entered into in the spirit of light comedy, in a mood of complete sexual detachment; and if the man is not to become alarmed about the free intimacy it is necessary that this suggestion of freedom should persist intact. As soon as a man comes to regard the matter as "serious" he takes fright, and unless he decides to marry his mistress he will seek the first possible opportunity to regain freedom.

* * * * * * *

A dispassionate examination of the way a typical man is apt to behave in a free intimacy suffices to show that panegyrics of

the free sexual union are based upon a profound ignorance of the masculine nature. Man is ill-adapted for the free intimacy; he cannot play the part. As bachelor, and also in the bonds of marriage, he feels at home. But in a free intimacy he feels stressed and entrapped, and nothing but passion will hold him. This passion he regards as a danger, and he struggles against it. If he is so fortunate as to overcome it, he feels under no obligation to his sexual partner, and goes on his way rejoicing. Here, again, the influences of suggestion are at work. In marriage the man does not give free rein to his inclinations, but consciously and deliberately endeavors to control them, and is delighted when the marriage proves successful. He looks, not for passion, but for content. Whereas he cannot leave his "beloved" quickly enough when his passion cools, in marriage the mere assurance of sympathy and domestic peace makes him regard himself as a very lucky man. "How readily the free union is dissolved when the pair have been bound together by sentiment alone! A single quarrel, and they separate as if there had been nothing between them. It is not merely the extrinsic protection which woman still needs to-day, and which is assured to her by marriage, that makes us regard the marriage bond as necessary. No, the reasons are intrinsic: it is by this bond alone, in most cases, that anything like a permanent union is attained. Only by the lack of freedom is imposed on our latter-day heroes the mood which renders an enduring sexual relationship possible."[3] The overwhelming force of this suggestion is shown by the fact that a man usually finds it difficult to make up his mind to divorce his wife even if she has repeatedly been unfaithful. Not infrequently he still feels it his duty to extend to her his "protection." His beloved, on the other hand, he will abandon without a word, not merely when she is unfaithful to him, but if for a moment she appears to him no longer desirable.

The suggestive influence of marriage is so powerful, the feeling

[3] From my article "Ehe und Ehegesetze," *Zeitschrift für Mutterschutz*, third year of issue, No. 8.

induced by this bond that the pair belong to one another is so coercive, that when a married man enters into a secret intimacy with another woman we are apt to find that subsequently it is the beloved who is betrayed, for the unfaithful husband almost invariably yields to the moral imperative which dictates a renewed faithfulness to his wife. The other woman proves to have been merely a side issue, a slip! Nothing characterizes the Pharisee so clearly as this estimate of illegitimate sexual experiences, whatsoever their nature, as "mere slips."

A man personally known to me, one of fine fiber, assured me that when he had had a mistress for a certain time a distaste for her inevitably ensued; but this feeling cannot be referred to physical satiety, for no such distaste is felt towards the young wife, at least when the marriage is one of mutual sympathy. My friend declared that in the subconsciousness the idea was always at work that marriage is advantageous to the social position, whereas this is endangered by the free intimacy. A man's "respect" for his wife is greater in proportion to the degree in which the same man will lose respect for the woman who is not his wife and yet has given him her love. What he respects in his wife is not merely, as he imagines, his conjugal companion and the mother of his children, but above all one who is the intermediary in the production of favorable social results.

A certain enduring character is further given to the attraction leading to marriage—if such attraction has existed—by the circumstance that the relationship, unlike the free love-intimacy, is not based primarily upon passion. A man may marry from passion, but towards his wife he has usually another feeling in reserve, a certain quiet inclination. Where his mistress is concerned he has no such feeling, for here "inclination" is far too cold a word. But for the woman whom a man loves it is far better that he should feel this quiet, cordial tenderness, than that he should be devoured by passion. In certain conditions it is better for a woman that a man should be fond of her than that he should be "in love" with her. Only in marriage, however, is the suggestion

at work that this friendly sympathy is appropriate. Married people do not cease to live together when passion cools; but the mistress is forsaken when the man no longer burns with desire.

* * * * * * *

It is not a matter of grave consequence that in the free love-intimacies of to-day the man should so often abandon the woman, for people should separate when they can no longer live a happy common life; but the manner in which the abandonment is commonly effected is a social phenomenon which can neither be ignored nor explained away. The mainspring of all civilization may be found in a certain degree of voluntary subordination of the physically stronger sex to the weaker, for in default of this, man would never have emerged from the condition in which the stronger preys upon the weaker. When the stronger placed himself at the feet of the weaker in tender subordination it became possible for the idea of humanity to rise triumphant over that of animality. Already in the higher animal world we find it characteristic for the male to care for the female.

In the human species such care is firmly grounded upon the fact that, alike physically, morally and intellectually, the female can be injured and destroyed far more readily than the male; upon the fact that biologically and economically women are weaker than men; and upon the fact that woman's emotional life is far more delicate and therefore far more susceptible to injury. These are facts that must never be forgotten amid all conditions and all changes of form in the sexual life, and above all in relation to the woman's movement.

The principle of subordination of the stronger sex to the weaker found its finest flower in the ideal of chivalry, an ideal which has never been completely lost from the consciousness of civilized man, although in actual practice to-day we can find little trace of its working. The ancient ideal of chivalry has degenerated into the galanterie of to-day, and the epigone of the knight of old is the modern "gentleman." The latter actually observes the forms and uses the formulas of knightly service, but—and here comes a limi-

tation which undermines his pretensions to chivalry—only so far as the control of good society extends. Towards all who have to deal with him in his public life, a gentleman is a chivalrous knight and a man of honor. But towards a woman who has responded to his loving advances without guarantees and without the control and supervision of society this same gentleman will in most cases —in ninety-nine, indeed, out of a hundred—behave in a manner which is the very reverse of chivalrous.

A man of honor, one moving in the best society, will often behave like the basest of roughs towards a woman who has given herself to him without conditions. Such a man may go away from such a woman after passing an intimate hour with her, and abandon her without so much as a single word. This is less likely to happen to those women who cling tenaciously to their lovers than it is to women of a nobler order, to those making no claims upon a man who has ceased to love them. The conscience of the "gentleman" is in almost all cases a matter which solely concerns his publicly known life. It plays a part in his relations with his wife and family, and in intercourse with other men he is deeply concerned about questions of honor. The remarkable fact is that this honor can only be lost in his publicly known relationships!

"I often think," says Anna Karenina, "how little sense of honor men really possess, although the word is always on their lips."

In ancient Sparta a boy was condemned to death because he had wrung the neck of a bird which had taken refuge on his breast. How many men deal after the manner of this boy with the women they have once loved—but no one condemns them.

Such brutal treatment of a woman who has entrusted herself to a man behind society's back and without the safeguard of society's control may be experienced by women of all classes and all degrees of culture, from the queen to the woman of the proletariat, at the hands of the men of all classes and of all degrees of culture. In this book, largely devoted as it is to a critique of the existing forms of marriage, we must not fail to draw attention

to these horrible incidents characteristic of our sexual order but concealed beneath the decorous surface of marriage. Enough has been said to show why the writer considers that there must be a change in the entire public organization of the sexual order before she will feel it possible to join in the pæans that are so often sung in favor of free love. This reservation is made without prejudice to the ethical motives of the advocates of free love, which are usually beyond reproach.

We are almost forced to the conclusion that the woman who demands a real satisfaction of the needs of her sexual life from persons of the prevailing masculine type is faced by a hopeless dilemma. It is, indeed, for this reason that so many women lead solitary lives. On the one hand, the difficulties of attaining to a satisfactory marriage are insuperable; and, on the other hand, women fail to find a lover to whom they can entrust themselves without incurring enfeeblement, shame, or debasement. Men do not appear to understand that love-intimacies might be terminated more gently than is now usually the case. The idea that two persons who have had tender feelings toward one another could maintain a pleasant comradely relationship after they have ceased to feel that their intimacy bears the stamp of eternity, that if neither should form a new passionate attachment each can continue to offer the other possibilities of erotic experience in unfettered independent comradeship, and that for this reason if for no other they should remain on terms of cordial intimacy—such an idea as this has not yet entered the brain of the modern man nor, to any considerable extent, that of the modern woman. In the free love-intimacy the man often abandons the woman even when he still retains some inclination to remain attached to her, and the reason for this abandonment is not difficult to find—what he is afraid of is "duties" and "unpleasantnesses." Hence the ever-present dilemma, the interminable psycho-physical conflict, for those women who have been unable to attain to a satisfactory marriage, who will not adopt a life of prostitution, and who yet refuse to accept celibacy.

Thus, in our present sexual order, woman is faced by the following possibilities; marriage, prostitution, or the bitterness of solitary celibacy—the only remaining alternative being a succession of brief intermezzi during the years of her youth. For man, the alternatives are: marriage, with recourse to prostitution as a preliminary stage, or solitary bachelorhood, with occasional recourse to prostitution so long as the senses continue their clamant demands. Such being the possibilities of the sexual life of to-day, it may well happen that one who is by principle an opponent of marriage may be forced by the coercion of the dominant situation to accept marriage as the relatively best form of the sexual life. "It is better to marry than to burn." Upon those who suffer under the conditions of to-day is imposed the task of ensuring that a brighter morrow shall dawn for the generations to come.

* * * * * * *

All these considerations combine to show that to effect a regeneration of the free intimacy it is essential that this type of sexual union no less than marriage should receive public recognition and that this recognition should be extended to those unions entered into without aiming at permanence and without any intention of having children, as well as to those which contribute to the social function of child-bearing. By the social recognition of such relationships, the reason would be removed which now leads men to regard them as dangerous and to enter into them with the deliberate intention of breaking them off at an early opportunity. Therewith would disappear the degrading atmosphere of concealment, the thousand and one environing difficulties, the dangerous crises of temperament on the part of the secret lovers; therewith would be swept away the entire complex of suggestions which, as we have shown, now render the free intimacy essentially unstable. Side by side with the introduction of greater facilities of divorce in the case of legalized unions, it is also essential that there should be imposed more stable responsibilities in the case of free unions. Woman is protected by law in marriage, and in many countries during the period of betrothal as well, but in the free

intimacy she receives no legal protection whatever; this is absurd, for it is precisely in the third of these relationships that she stands most urgently in need of protection.

Moreover, during a considerable period of their lives, more persons are living in free sexual relations than in the bonds of legal marriage, and this fact makes it essential that protective legislation should be devised for this necessary form of the sexual life. By the introduction of private contracts between the parties, formally made in the presence of a legally appointed official (such contracts as even to-day are entered into by the parties to not a few free-unions), provision must be made to safeguard the woman from an entirely unconditional surrender.

In the modern world, and above all in Germany, a woman is regarded as a mercenary prostitute if she wishes to make any conditions whatever before entering into an erotic relationship. Not until the formulation of such conditions is a generally accepted practice, not until it is "moral," "ethical," or "customary," will women make these demands as frequently as they should to secure their own future. A first step in this direction has, I have been given to understand, been taken in Sweden, where concubinage is socially recognized, must be officially notified, and is based upon a legal contract signed by both parties in the presence of a public official.

* * * * * * *

It is a fact altogether beyond dispute that, of all the forms of sexual relationship, enduring unions in pairs exercise the greatest possible civilizing influence. The potential results of such unions are: a stabilization of the character of both partners, physical and mental tranquillity, and favorable conditions for the upbringing of the offspring. If, nevertheless, we demand that in addition to this enduring monogamic form of marriage there should exist freedom in respect of all sexual relationships which are not injurious to the species, and if we even go so far as to insist that these other forms of sexual relationships shall receive full social recognition, we do so on the ground that the attainment of permanent monogamic

marriage on a basis of free selection in the biological sense is a matter of very great difficulty, and because we cannot consent to regard such exceptional possibilities as constituting the only permissible form of procreation and the amatory life.

Marriage as the permanent sexual association of one man and one woman, drawn together by an intimate harmony of physical and mental qualities and each finding in the other complete satisfaction of all desire for sexual relationships, with father, mother, and children, living together in harmony, is and must remain the ideal. Since, however, the attainment of this ideal involves the fulfillment of conditions often difficult to realize, it is essential that an additional form of sexual life should receive legal and social recognition.

In view of the increasing intensity of the struggle for existence, a struggle in which men are so strenuously engaged that the moments in which they can enjoy a truly human life seem to become ever fewer, it is indispensable that the conditions which render possible an open, free, and unencumbered intercourse between the sexual partners—to-day attainable only through legal marriage—should be rendered attainable in other forms also of the sexual relationship. In default of such conditions these latter forms are apt to prove far more irritant than calmative. "We cannot love a person unless we are assured of the possibility of that person's companionship whenever we need it," writes Goethe. The first need of all is the common dwelling-place. If the couple live under one roof, they can be together whenever both are at home. The second need is that meals should be shared, since this provides a further opportunity for mutual intercourse. It is both wholesome and time-saving that the need of two persons for companionship should, to a large extent, be satisfied during meal times. It is time-saving because the time given to meals is much the same whether these are taken alone or in company; it is wholesome because solitary feeding is not nearly so good for the organism as a meal taken to the accompaniment of sympathetic conversation. (It is hardly necessary to say that antipathetic chatter makes meal-

times an inferno from which one wishes to escape with all possible speed.) "On peut être seul plutôt à minuit qu' à midi," writes Caroline to Schelling.

Those who are galled by the harness of coercive marriage do not usually find any difficulty in making light of its restraints, and it is precisely the best of those whose married life proves unhappy who are led thereby to remain childless, for it is the best, from the racial-selective point of view, who will refuse to procreate children in an unsympathetic marriage, and who will seek no other outlet for their sexual energies. Those who, while still young, find themselves yoked enduringly to a partner with whom they have nothing in common, either evade the claims of legal marriage by entering into free intimacies (the woman thereby incurring the risk of social degradation), or else they wither all too soon in enforced solitude. There is no real gain when passions which glow with elementary force in young and healthy bodies and minds are successfully repressed. Alike to the mental and to the physical organism such repression works grave injury; and yet it is still worse if, under the stress of these passions, men and women are forced into the duress of the present form of marriage, if the door of the trap shuts fast on them forever.

The possibility of a change of sexual partners in the course of a long life, and in the changing course of individual development, must therefore be recognized by society. During the years prior to the attainment of complete mental and physical maturity and prior to the acquirement of the social conditions suitable for permanent marriage, there must be provided, for women no less than for men, free opportunity to form temporary sexual unions. In both sexes it is essential that the social as well as the erotic powers should attain their fullest development before the formation of a permanent sexual association, for then only does it become possible to choose the partner best adapted for a life-companionship.

Reproduction, however, must be freed from its dependence upon any prescribed form of sexual association, for the procrea-

tion of the coming generation must be effected during those years in which the energy and beauty of the individual and of the germ-plasm are at their maximum, whether the union between the parents is or is not destined to endure, and without depriving these parents, by social censure, of the possibility of other and socially perhaps more valuable sexual experiences. The way must lie open for the birth of the children of vigor, youth, and free sexual selection, regardless of the question whether the parents are socially ripe and fit for marriage, or whether they intend to marry.

The nature of the reforms that will be requisite in our sexual and economic order to render this possible will be elsewhere discussed. The proper care for our women, to-day best secured by legal marriage, must be attained by other means. The protection of mother and child, an elementary need in all times and amid all circumstances, and which is never secured by women's wage-labor, must be effected in some other way than through the marriage of to-day, which imposes such burdens on our men that marriage becomes possible to them only at a continually advancing age. Society itself will have to provide for the safety and support of mother and child. For when young and vigorous men are withheld from procreation because this is economically possible only to those who are comparatively advanced in life, the community is robbed of the finest possibilities of racial progress.

The further evolution of the species depends upon the production of highly evolved individualities, and it must be the primary aim of the civilized state to produce such individualities in the greatest possible number. Under existing conditions legal marriage is hostile to racial progress, since it makes for reversed selection.

* * * * * * *

In existing conditions there is doubtless force in the argument that a man unfettered by legal bonds will be much more likely to abandon his sexual partner. At present, legal marriage is the sole form of sexual relationship to receive official and social recognition, and for this reason men regard all other forms as provisional merely. Marriage seems to them the higher and better ordered

state, and any other sexual association than marriage into which they may enter must not be allowed to become too binding, lest it should prove an obstacle in the way of a desirable marriage.

A man is also apt to dread being forced into marriage with his sexual intimate. For these reasons, as soon as the affair threatens, as he phrases it, to become serious, the man usually abandons the woman, especially if she wishes to have children. It is a fact of experience that in most free unions the woman is abandoned sooner or later. Since woman's need of love, once awakened, is much stronger than before, while in such cases the way to its satisfaction through the form of legal marriage is for many reasons exceptionally difficult, the woman thus once abandoned is apt to pass repeatedly from one man's hands to another's. Unquestionably such a process tends to exercise a profoundly demoralizing influence upon her mental life, and not least because under present social conditions such a career is complicated with manifold dangers of social degradation.

In the free intimacy the man abandons the woman because at the very outset he had already determined, although perhaps subconsciously, to leave her after a time. In his super-consciousness he may well have considered that his partner was free to bind him if she could. This involves the implication that the woman, if she does not take the initiative in abandonment—and this is rare—is capable of engaging the man's affections enduringly. It is impossible, however, for one individual thus to bind another if the latter's own mind is fundamentally averse to being bound. To render it possible, a deliberate process of counter-suggestion would be necessary, a long-continued hypnotic exercise which would wear out the hypnotizer before the subject. A deliberate attempt on the woman's part to influence the man in such a way, to fetter him in undesired chains, would destroy the inmost significance of sexual communion, would render impossible that profound interlacement of two personalities out of which there arises, in rare and fortunate cases, a sense of complete mutual harmony and reciprocal repose. Where this feeling is lacking, and where the woman deliberately

attempts to bind the man to her side, she will have to devote the greater part of her energies to the practice of mental gymnastics in order to *stimulate* an ever-renewed interest, in conjunction with bodily and sensual tricks.

For a woman who has independent work to do, an intimacy upon such a basis is either absolutely out of the question or else fatally impairs the exercise of those productive activities upon which she is often economically and morally dependent. If, on the other hand, the woman's idea is, "if he no longer cares for me I prefer that he should leave me," while abandonment is in present conditions the more probable result, the intimacy may sometimes eventuate in marriage. A third way out can hardly be said to exist. Every such intimacy in environed by the atmosphere of marriage as the one and only publicly approved form of sexual association, and from this atmosphere proceed innumerable influences whereby the mental and emotional dispositions of the partners are unfitted for the successful and enduring conduct of a free intimacy.

But why is it that the invariable question is whether the woman will succeed in permanently engaging the man's affections? Why do we hardly ever hear the question put the other way about? Is it because there exist sexual differences which are a fundamental part of the masculine and the feminine temperaments, or is it simply because of the social coercion exercised by existing institutions? The whole struggle between the sexes in this respect depends upon the fact that in the male satiety ensues as soon as he has gained the goal of his desire. He wishes to pass on in search of fresh sexual experiences, whereas the woman who has given herself to a man clings for this reason all the more firmly to him. Why is it that the emotions of the male are thus comparatively fugitive, while those of the female are comparatively lasting? Obviously because the male will far more readily than the female find a new love. Upon what does this difference, in its turn, depend? In the first place, the problem has a numerical solution, there is an excess of women. Secondly, it is because man

has a social value in addition to his personal value. Thirdly, it is because society will blame a man neither openly nor tacitly for a change of such relationships. But a woman who does the same thing sins past forgiveness.

It is a characteristic feature of the social apparatus of modern marriage that men always regard themselves as prizes to be won, and that when that happens which the man desires no less ardently than the woman we hear talk of nets and snares and lures. In Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman* the hero tells us that the world is full of baited traps in which women catch men. Why are we not told that women are trapped into marriage? Obviously because a permanent union, while it imposes duties on the man, furnishes a provision for the woman. So long as this difference of rôles in marriage persists, to the male the female will always appear a spider spinning a web, one who stimulates his sexual energies by a simulated passivity—a passivity which she will throw off at the calculated moment, when the man is weak and his mind is clouded by desire, to fasten round him like a boa-constrictor and drag him off before the registrar to be married. Yet in the existing social order, by which marriage alone is sanctioned as a means for the procreation of children, our race would become extinct if women were to cease playing this part!

Not until the necessary changes have been effected in the economic and sexual order of society will it become possible to realize in practice the profound values attaching to the free intimacy as contrasted with coercive marriage. If the free intimacy were neither anti-social nor deliberately temporary, if concubinage were a recognized status regarded as an end in itself, endangering no one and therefore to be condemned by no one—if, in short, it were an approved variety of sexual-social relationship, not injurious to the career of a man, not threatening the honor and very existence of a woman nor yet involving social penalties and deprivations to possible children—then the abandonment of "the dreadful contract to feel in a particular way, in a matter whose essence is its

voluntariness,"[4] the unshackling of sexual relationships, would be followed by its appropriate results: the sexual life of mankind, instead of being, as to-day, a game of chance in which the odds are heavily against the players, would manifest itself in all its natural advantages as a process tending towards the continual perfectionment of the individual and of the race.

If under such conditions free intimacies were transitory, the results would not be at all disastrous, as they often are to-day: the separation would not involve a catastrophe; it would deprive no one of future vital possibilities; it would rob no one of existence either as a sexual or as a social being. To-day the woman who has participated in one, two, or more transitory free intimacies has almost invariably squandered all her chances in life. In the coming time, when in the joint interest of the individual and of the community-at-large, there will be provided, as it were, ambulance-stations—institutions to protect the interests of the coming generation, institutions in which the feeble efforts of individuals will be supplemented and replaced by powerful and coördinated social activities—a change in private sexual relationships need involve neither social nor vital catastrophe, but will often be for the good of both parties. In woman's case, especially, the termination of a free intimacy will not then involve, as it nearly always does to-day, the wretched choice between prostitution and celibacy, for she will still be able to live out her life to her own best advantage and to that of society.

* * * * * * *

Those who are opposed to greater freedom of choice in the sexual life raise an objection to the effect that if such freedom were granted, women, after devoting the best years of their youth to a man, would commonly be abandoned. But why should not natural selection through the survival of the fittest have free play? For what reason should one who is no longer attractive and who, notwithstanding years of undisturbed companionship and despite the absence of suggestions hostile to a continued union, yet lacks

[4] Thomas Hardy, in *Jude the Obscure* (p. 267).

the power to make herself regarded as a permanently desirable companion, be legally empowered to chain another human being to her side? Moreover, when the economic independence of women —a necessary feature of any comprehensive scheme of sexual reform—has been secured, the inflated value of the male of to-day, which is no more than a pecuniary value, will spontaneously disappear. It is only for economic reasons that the most despicable male creature is able to purchase the love of as many women as he pleases. In the new time, catastrophes of sentiment will remain unavoidable, but it can hardly be imagined that these will cause as much wretchedness as results to-day from the enforced sexual companionship of persons who have become mutually repugnant.

But is it not possible that the existing coercive system may work for good, by safeguarding its victims from the chance of fresh disasters? Must we not also recognize that unduly frequent changes in the sphere of the sexual life may impair human elasticity alike mental and bodily, in a manner analogous to what is seen in the case of those who change their dwelling-place too frequently? Perhaps so, yet surely a bad dwelling-place cannot be abandoned too soon! It is doubtless unfortunate to be forced to move house very frequently, but it is assuredly worse to be obliged to remain in an unsuitable habitation.

Let there be no misunderstanding. I regard permanent sexual unions as the ideal. For a woman, above all, it is eminently desirable that she should give herself to one man only, that this man should be the first she has loved, that she should never suffer disillusionment, and that the pair should remain true lovers until death. But this happy fortune cannot be extorted from destiny, and yet our present form of marriage embodies precisely such an attempt to force fate's hands. It presupposes that the experience of this miracle will be the average human lot, which is manifestly absurd. In processes of a sexual nature it is utterly unreasonable to attempt to impose an eternal obligation.

As things are, numerous men and women of fine type reject every kind of sexual association, and live out their lives in un-

satisfying celibacy, because they will not accept coercive marriage and because they fear the dangers of the socially condemned free intimacy. If the whole hocus-pocus of modern marriage, with its eternal obligations, could be swept onto the rubbish heap, such persons as these would fulfill the laws of their being and would follow nature's call to the adequate development of their personalities.

One of the most dangerous features of the legal marriage of to-day consists in the mutual ignorance, respecting many essential particulars, of the partners to the union. In the near future there will certainly arise a demand for certified details as to the past and present health of the intended mate; and in view of the possibilities of racial degeneration arising from the marriage of diseased and degenerate individuals, this demand will be recognized as valid. An intimate knowledge of many peculiarities of character cannot possibly be acquired until people are actually living together; but apart from these, the basis and presupposition of a happy marriage is, above all, harmony in matters of sexual sensibility. Now in the marriage prescribed by the sexual order of to-day all such knowledge is unattainable until the door has been shut and bolted behind the wedded pair. The intolerable risks thus involved recall to our minds one of the Sagas in the Younger Edda, in which Skade was to choose a husband from among the Asa, but the possible husbands were hidden behind a curtain so that she could see no more than their feet. Little more, before marriage, does the wife often know of the husband to-day!

Trial marriage, the practice of which continued late into the middle ages, no less among the princely houses than among the peasantry, and which was permitted especially in cases when the inheritance of property was in question, was simply an experiment in sexual companionship, with an implied contract as to the possibility in certain circumstances of the relationship proving permanent. Children born in the interval between betrothal and marriage (*Brautkinder*) had the same rights of inheritance as

children born in wedlock. The period of probation served not only to determine whether the woman was fruitful, but also to disclose the sexual peculiarities of the man. Hermann records that after a six months' betrothal between John IV of Hapsburg and Herzland von Rappoltstein the latter broke off the engagement "on account of her betrothed's lack of virility." Such tests of sexual potency were regarded as necessary in the feudal age in order to ensure that property rights should indeed pass in the line in which they were ostensibly transmitted; but the institution appears to be no less justified on individual and on eugenist grounds. "Trial Nights!" The very word will make our modern Tartuffes turn away their faces in simulated reprobation, and yet it is obvious that the practice is eminently reasonable, and in certain country districts of Europe, and notably in the Black Forest, trial marriage still persists among the peasantry.[5]

Another dangerous characteristic of marriage is the enslavement it involves alike sexual and social. "The essence of marriage," says Rüdebusch, "is the right of possession of a human being for life-long and exclusive sexual service." The definition

[5] In the Isle of Portland trial marriage, locally known as the "island custom," persisted until comparatively recent days. Well on into the nineteenth century experimental cohabitation was universal in Portland, and marriage did not take place until the woman became pregnant. If, as a sequel of experimental cohabitation, "the woman does not prove with child, after a competent time of courtship, they conclude they are not destined by Providence for each other; they therefore separate; and as it is an established maxim, which the Portland women observe with great strictness, never to admit a plurality of lovers at one time, their honour is in no way tarnished. She just as soon gets another suitor (after the affair is declared to be broken off) as if she had been left a widow, or that nothing had ever happened, but that she had remained an immaculate virgin" (Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 1868, vol. II, p. 820). So faithfully was the island custom observed that, Mr. Hutchins assures us, during a long period no single bastard was born on the island, while all the legal marriages were fertile. But when, for the development of the Portland stone industry, workmen from London, with the "wild love" habits of the large town, were imported, these men took advantage of the island custom and then refused to marry the girls with whom they had cohabited. Thus, in consequence of freer intercourse with the "civilized" world, the Portland custom has gradually fallen into desuetude.—An account of Portland, with allusions to the local practice of trial marriage, will be found in Thomas Hardy's novel, *The Well Beloved*.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

is accurate as far as it goes, but to cover the whole ground we must add the words, "and also for inseparable social contact." A deprivation of freedom which would be tolerated in no other relationship, involving the disposal of one's time by day and by night and all the details of domestic economy, and going so far as the absolute denial of one's right to one's own company, one's own time, and one's own person, is taken as a matter of course to be a part of marriage. Each partner is supposed to be the indispensable complement of the other. Two human beings, mutually attracted along a single line, are forced to fuse, and permanently, the entire complex of their existences, and they are compelled to remain in this intimate association even though either or both should subsequently encounter other complements infinitely more suitable than the original partner.

In some countries infidelity to the marriage bond is even punished with imprisonment. It is right and proper that infidelity should be a valid ground for divorce, but how utterly lost to shame and pride must one be who is willing, on account of such infidelity, to send his sexual partner, or that partner's lover, to prison. Married people are supposed to "belong" to one another, for the idea of ownership remains an essential part of marriage. Not until property itself (property as a means of exploitation) is universally regarded as theft, will the legal right of one human being to own another pass away forever. "Who can say to another, I represent all that you are able to love"—thus in a novel by Lasswitz, a writer to whose work we shall have again to refer, speaks an inhabitant of Mars the free to an astonished child of Earth.

Among the eternal motifs of the Wagnerian *Ring,* we find that of marriage as a state of coercion. The powers over the husband exercised by the wife, simply as wife and not as woman or personality, are displayed in relation to the exalted figure of Wotan, the All-Father. Fricka appears upon the scene with all the elaborate pomp and circumstance of the legitimate consort. Brünnehilde announces her:

"I counsel thee, Father,
Have a care:
A violent storm
Awaits thee:
Fricka approaches, thy Wife."

Fricka forces him to consent to the slaying of his own darling. "My honor demands the sacrifice of the Wölsung: does Wotan swear to do my will?" Wotan, sinking on a rock in rage and despair, answers: "I swear."

Doubtless thanks to the institution of marriage some couples are kept together to their mutual advantage. But how few are these compared with the number of those who had far better separate than remain in conditions equivalent to a living immurement in the tomb. There are marriages that remind us of the desecration of necrophilia: the spirit of life has fled. We are assured that marriage affords safe harborage for women, and it must be admitted that there are many women who in virtue of the existing marriage system attain to the safe haven of a sexual association who under other conditions would fail to do so. But why should such women as these receive special protection? Many of them owe their position to accidental circumstances, and have no real right, on the ground of qualities or services of their own, to the places they now occupy. From the racial and social point of view it would have been far better had they been left in isolation. How many, on the other hand, do we see who are unable to contract a suitable alliance because the appropriate partner has been encountered too late when they are already unsuitably bound.

Ebner-Eschenbach tells us in her aphorisms: "In so far as heaven is possible on earth it is found in a happy marriage." This is doubtless true. Rare indeed, however, are the cases where persons meet and unite in true spiritual harmony, persons whose demands upon life and tastes in life correspond and interfuse so completely that neither can ever become a burden to the other while each always remains to the other a source of vital stimula-

tion. The best chance of such a union arises where both partners lead a well-filled individual life, and where both are inspired by lofty ideals of mutual toleranee. Ordinarily the woman, with no regular occupation, feeds parasitieally like a vampire upon the person and the time of the man. Doubtless the wife's employment should not be so exacting as to leave her no time for the cultivation of her womanliness. The union eannot prosper if the partners meet only when both are tired and irritable from the fatigues of prolonged labor. A rational soeiety will always have to reekon with the wife's withdrawal from independent work, not solely for the funetion of motherhood, but also for the safeguarding of her distinetive womanly qualities. But it remains of the first importanee that the wife should have a eultural life of her own, no less engrossing to her than her husband's occupation is to him. When this beeomes a matter of course there will be an end to the exaggerated elaims wives now so often make upon their husbands.

The greatest, however, of all the defeets attaehing to the legal marriage of to-day, dependent in especial upon the indissolubility of the bond, is the vitiation of seleetion that neeessarily results. The offspring of a partieular pair may be of an altogether inferior soeial value, whilst if one of the partners were to eontraet a different alliance much better results might ensue. This consideration is ignored, and the pair eontinues to propagate an inferior stoek. "Proereate, not to multiply, but to advance. Make this use of the garden of marriage." Thus spake Zarathustra.

* * * * * * *

Since the garden of marriage fosters so many inimical growths, whilst the free intimaey fails to provide a favorable environment for the proeesses of the sexual life, and since the fact ean no longer be ignored that permissibility of a change of sexual partnerships is indispensable, there will inevitably arise a tendency to restore .coneubinage to the position whieh in virtue alike of its past history and of its future developmental possibilities properly attaches to that institution. For the very reason that we admit

how great is the psychological and emotional value of the public and official element in the contract of marriage, we are convinced that concubinage must once more receive a social status. Concubinage is a temporary marriage, one that does not involve life-long obligations, but it is endowed with the most essential characteristic of marriage, namely, that the pair live openly together. Inasmuch as, in addition, it usually results in the procreation of children, it demands the protection of law and of the moral esteem of society. One of the most tragic phenomena of a world-order established upon a police-morality is the condemnation and persecution of those who enter into relations of concubinage. Such an attitude to this institution is of comparatively recent growth. In Roman law the concubine and her child received a notable degree of protection against neglect or desertion; neither mother nor child was excluded from the right of inheriting the father's property; the children of the concubine received one-sixth of the estate. In the ninth century concubinage was forbidden by Pope Leo Philosophus, but notwithstanding this it remained customary, and its practice entailed no special penalties. In Germany the first police regulation against concubinage dates from the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Thenceforward concubinage was a state without legal rights, and in many places even became a punishable offense; in some countries the penalties do not exist on paper merely, but are practically enforced. In Hattingen-on-the-Ruhr (Westphalia) the police charge against a couple living in concubinage ran as follows: "They have committed sexual improprieties with one another, such as are permissible only in the case of married persons." (This fact was communicated to the general assembly of the Bund für Mutterschutz by a delegate from Hattingen.)

The old legal rights of concubinage must be restored; new duties must be imposed upon both the men and the women who enter into this relationship; and new duties must be imposed also upon the community which is so deeply concerned in the results of such unions. If only for the reason that society cannot evade all responsibility for the offspring of those living in concubinage,

the relationship must involve the legal enforcement of certain duties, and of duties far more extensive than that now imposed upon the father to maintain his illegitimate children. Society itself must learn to regard the care of the coming generation, not only as an important task, but as one of the greatest of opportunities. Towards all children the community-at-large must assume the position of an over-parent or an over-guardian, not only to protect the immature against arbitrary treatment at the hands of individual parents, but also with the positive aim of ensuring the systematic development of their social forces. Thus those living in concubinage will have duties towards their children no less extensive than those imposed by legal marriage to-day; but concubinage will offer great advantages in that the contracting parties, though bound in one sense, will yet remain free in another, while their children will be the product of free selection.

In the existing social order motherhood is professedly regarded as one of the highest of social functions, and yet society cares so little for its children that the economic responsibility for their maintenance is left entirely to the father, who has by his unaided exertions to provide for the maintenance of an entire group of human beings. Not until the community-at-large accepts its fair share of this responsibility will natural selection once more contribute as it should to the work of human racial progress.

* * * * * * *

A study of marriage, its forms and consequences, shows that conventions are indispensable to regulate the sexual life; but it shows further that these conventions must be so devised as to give free play to vital necessities. Socially recognized concubinage would appear to be a convention of this character. With its acceptance there would be swept away three of the worst evils of the present sexual order: coercive marriage, the wild intimacy, and complete deprivation of sexual activity. Nor can it be questioned that if concubinage were socially and morally recognized, prostitution would become much less common. Among the working-classes concubinage is increasingly finding acceptance as an

adequate substitute for marriage (though it is one which here in nine cases out of ten ultimately leads to marriage), and in working-class life we find that recourse to prostitution is far less general. Socially recognized concubinage would appear to be indispensable as a transition institution, as a stage towards the attainment of the new sexual order whose details must subsequently be worked out.

It cannot be denied that such free sexual unions, for the very reason that they would be more readily and speedily dissoluble than the existing form of marriage, might often bring no more than a partial happiness. It is possible that the sexual partners would be happy together only for a certain time, and perhaps even then solely if they were to exhibit a high degree of mutual consideration and were assisted by a fair amount of resignation. Yet after all no one can venture to expect perfect happiness, and partial happiness in a sexual union is not to be rejected on the ground that guarantees are lacking for a rare and soul-satisfying beatitude. If we are not to pass our whole lives wandering through the desert in pursuit of a hope that will perhaps remain fantasmal to the very end, we must be content to come to terms with Fate.

* * * * * * *

"The history of human marriage is the history of a union wherein women have gradually gained a victory over the passions, the prejudices, and the selfishness of men." Thus writes Westermarck in his *History of Human Marriage*. In our view, however, if marriage is to approximate to the ideal which is implicit in the nature of the institution, yet other phases must be traversed. Just as paternal authority originated in the course of the development of ancestor-worship, the religion of the dawn of civilization, so also in the communal form of marriage an instinct found expression dating from the earliest historic and even prehistoric age of mankind. Westermarck, indeed, attacks the hypothesis of sexual promiscuity among primitive men in the most categorical manner. He regards sexual irregularity as an anomaly; he sees in marriage the natural form of sexual relationships for man and the higher

animals; and he comes to the conclusion that sexual irregularity was not a primitive phenomenon in the history of our race, but came into existence later, as the outcome of economic difficulties. Yet he makes the reservation that "free sexual intercourse is not to be confounded with promiscuity, the essential form of the latter being prostitution"; and he would thus appear to admit the primitive existence of free sexual intercourse.

There can be no doubt that the association of free sexual intercourse with economic considerations, the mingling of the love-need with the need for earning a livelihood, in a word, prostitution, in whatever form it may first have appeared, originated in economic difficulties. This association was the outcome of the human institution of private property as contrasted with the chaotic state of a general lack of property. Thus the hypothesis would appear to be well grounded that at any particular phase of human social development the economic order calls into being a particular kind of sexual order, the latter being necessarily one adapted to the requirements of the former; and we are justified in inferring from this that when a new economic order replaces that which now exists a new sexual order will also replace the old.

Westermarck derives human marriage from the pairing of the higher animals, telling us that the institution is "an inheritance from ape-like prehuman ancestors." So be it, but this history does not suffice to make the institution more worthy of respect, nor compel us to regard this particular form of the sexual life as permanently essential to human society. Just as we have got beyond ancestor-worship (at any rate as far as western civilized nations are concerned), possessing now no more than its vestigial remnant in the form of paternal authority, so also we are justified in concluding that marriage, though a flower of civilization of which we have many reasons to be proud, is too after its own fashion vestigial,—a vestige with which mankind will doubtless find it difficult to dispense, but one destined nevertheless, when it shall have become altogether superfluous, to entire disappearance. The human race is still passing through the earlier stages of its

history, and to show with considerable likelihood that a moral law dates from the "primeval" days of that history does not suffice to establish such a law as forever inalterable. In judging those institutions on which the progressive evolution of our species depends we must direct our gaze, not to the past, but to the future. Whatever course human development may take, it will not be in the direction of a return to nature, and the possibilities that marriage may be an institution with which humanity will one day dispense are not limited by the historical and sociological past of this form of the sexual life.

The enfranchisement of marriage, or rather the enfranchisement of mankind from the legal coercion of marriage, must be regarded as a necessary stage in future evolution, as the fruit of a riper civilization, and as the correlate of a new economic order. The chief historic basis of marriage was the necessity of the institution in relation to the transmission of legal property by inheritance. If, or when, the day comes in which the right of inheritance is no longer recognized, on the ground that adequate social provision is made for every individual in every stage of life, the main prop of legal marriage will have been withdrawn. Whereas to-day, for economic reasons, and for the sake of her offspring, woman is completely dependent upon marriage, in the coming time this particular safeguard will have become superfluous. In existing conditions an unfortunate marriage may be better for a woman than a fortunate love-intimacy; it is left to the future to insure that the fate of women and of children shall no longer rest upon so unworthy a foundation.

There must be established a new form of sexual union—monogamic, as I believe, but with free provision for a succession of monogamic relationships; it will derive from an appropriate economic order; and it will be characterized by an approximation of the two poles between which our sexual life now oscillates. The poles of the present sexual order are indissoluble marriage and complete sexual anarchy. Neither of these adequately fulfills human needs, and neither of them affords a favorable environment

for eugenic procreation. The transition to the new sexual order will be most satisfactorily bridged by unions in which full social recognition is given to the couple upon the simple announcement that they are setting up house together. In so far as their purely individual mutual relationships are concerned, their reciprocal duties may be left to private contract; but the care of any children that result from the union must be provided for, in part by legal obligations imposed on both parents, and in part by the direct intervention of society acting as Over-Parent.

The moral basis of such unions will be mainly secured by a general acknowledgment that their dissolution is as natural and reasonable as their formation. Therewith will spontaneously crumble the main pillar which now sustains, by a most remarkable combination of functions, both the chief forms of our existing sexual life, monogamic coercive marriage on the one hand, and sexual anarchy on the other. This pillar is our double standard of sexual morality.

BOOK III

THE DOUBLE STANDARD OF OUR SEXUAL MORALITY

Mary sat upon a stone, on a stone, on a stone,
Combing out her golden hair, golden hair,
And as she finished combing it, combing it, combing it,
She began to weep, to weep.
Then came Charles her brother, brother, brother:
"Mary, why art weeping, weeping?"
"I weep because I have to die, have to die, have to die."
Brother Charles drew his knife, drew his knife, drew his knife,
Drew it from his pocket, from his pocket, from his pocket,
And stabbed his sister Mary to the heart, to the heart.

—German Children's Song.

CHAPTER VI

KANT AND THE "METAPHYSIC OF ETHICS"

Origin of Morality. Hygienic Ordinances Taking the Form of Religious and Moral Precepts.

NATURAL or physical science determines the laws in accordance with which everything actually happens; moral science determines the laws in accordance with which everything ought to happen." Such are the words of Kant. Yet in the case of an occurrence that could not have been prevented, we cannot help thinking that the moral law which declares that it should not have happened must be a false one. Kant would appeal in rejoinder to the categorical imperative duty, but the weak point about such an appeal is the lack of a single trustworthy instance in which we can confide in the dictates of this sense of duty as we could

confide in those of a Being perfectly reasonable and entirely just. We are told that we must trust to our own conscience, that we must follow the moral law within us.

Society has, however, learned to recognize that but little dependence can be placed upon this law of the individual conscience, and that it varies from person to person. Hence it has been found necessary to establish a collective conscience in the form of moral precepts, or, as they may be called, conventional laws, in contradistinction to the laws of nature. Now any such conventional code, if its precepts do not spontaneously pass into disuse, requires occasional revision. For the very reason that the code is artificial, it lacks the touch of "the omnipresent balsam of all-healing Nature," and is thus incapable of spontaneous regeneration. This artificial and conventional character attaches to the moral laws regulating our sexual life.

What is the origin of morals? A historical examination of this problem shows that in the primitive stages of racial history ethical or religious precepts almost invariably enshrine practical hygienic counsels. The demands thus embodied are unquestionably moral; that is to say, the moral idea which underlies them has primarily originated in the human reason. Whereas what is termed *practical morality* represents no more than what is generally and socially considered to be reasonable and right conduct, the religious commandment is a moral imperative whose source eludes direct perception and belongs to the domain of the metaphysical.

Practical morality and religious commandments have, however, a common characteristic. Behind both stands reason, the unseen critic, and the ultimate demand of human reason is the welfare of mankind, of future generations, of the race; and in the promotion of this welfare the most important factors are individual and racial hygiene. There was a moral basis underlying the religious ordinance of circumcision, for in the sanitary conditions of the primitive Orient the omission of this rite endangered the powers of procreation. In Old Germany, sexual continence was imposed on young men until marriage, with the moral aim of con-

serving the procreative forces. The duplex sexual morality of our own time demands from women absolute pre-marital chastity, and this demand might also have a practical basis if wifehood and motherhood were secured to every healthy woman as husbandhood and fatherhood were secured to every German youth of old—and if it were not that in the case of modern womanhood continence is enforced for so long a period as to lead to a reduction of all the vital powers.

In actual fact, hygiene has very little to do with the demand for feminine chastity, with the obligation imposed upon women to refrain from all sexual experiences outside the limits of marriage. This demand would seem to have originated in the East,[1] where sexual artificiality is far more extreme than in Europe. We have seen that in Germany trial marriage, involving the negation of the demand for preconjugal chastity in women, was at one time socially recognized; and we have learned that such trials might be made by a woman with several men in succession. It has been suggested that this was possible in Germany on account of the chaster and stronger sexual impulse of the Germans, an impulse independent of the need for artificial stimulation. The insistence upon the intact virginity of the wife is an epicure's demand,[2] and, moreover, it is one preëminently made by the worn-out roué, who finds in the intact virgin an especially piquant morsel. If the question of hygiene, the question of venereal infection, were the dominant determinant in establishing the morality of our sexual life, the demand for preconjugal chastity would be far stronger as regards the husband than as regards the wife. A man's first experience of sexual intercourse is so often with a prostitute, involving dangers, not only to his own health, but to the health also of the woman he may subsequently marry.

[1] "Women of the world never think of attacking the sensual stipulation for perfect bloom, silver purity, which is redolent of the Oriental origin of the love-passion of their lords."—George Meredith, *The Egoist*, Chap. V.

[2] "The capaciously strong in soul among women will ultimately detect an infinite grossness in the demand for purity infinite, spotless bloom."—George Meredith, *The Egoist*, Chap. XI.

In the case of the male full allowance is made for the various physical needs that impel him to free sexual intercourse; but where women are concerned no account is taken of the fact that the feminine organism has also a physiological demand alike for contrectation and for detumescence, alike for the psycho-physical caressive approximation to the beloved object and for the discharge of sexual tension. The sexual moral code imposed upon women is especially dangerous where it deals from the "moral" standpoint with pregnancy and motherhood. The idea that to give birth to a child can possibly be an improper act would move us irresistibly to laughter were it not that it moves us rather to tears.[3] The most incredible developments of our duplex sexual morality are to be found in connection with the ideas of honor that prevail in the society in which this code is dominant. Thus we learn from this code that the husband is dishonored when his wife is unfaithful to him. A woman loses her honor when her lover abandons her. Both the man and the woman, in such cases, are said to be dishonored by the acts of others! How little have we advanced, in these fantastic conceptions of honor, from the medieval code. Our mentality is still that of the brothers Strozzi, "who had their beautiful sister Luisa put to death because at a banquet the Tyrant of Florence had looked upon her with eyes of desire."[4]

In support of the polygamous freedom of the male which obtains under the conventional sexual code, we are told that it is contrary to man's nature to live in permanent union with only one woman. It is not explained how the male is to give free play to his nature in this respect if the female is to remain faithful to

[3] "Here is a woman whom we all supposed to be making bad water-colour sketches, practising Grieg and Brahms, gadding about to concerts and parties, wasting her life and her money. We suddenly learn that she has turned from these sillinesses to the fulfilment of her highest purpose and greatest function—to increase, multiply and replenish the earth. And instead of admiring her courage and rejoicing in her instinct; instead of crowning the completed womanhood and raising the triumphal strain of 'Unto us a child is born: unto us a son is given,' here you are . . . all pulling long faces and looking as ashamed and disgraced as if the girl had committed the vilest of crimes."—John Tanner, in Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman.*

[4] Isolde Kurz, *Die Frau in der italienischen Renaissance.*

the moral obligation imposed upon her by the code. If consistent monogamy be indeed unnatural to men, surely we are wrong to educate women in the idea that they should love one man only and cleave to him. Can we not understand, then, and even approve a woman who is unwilling to stake all her chances in life upon the hazard of a single man, and one who refuses to regard her whole fortune as forever lost if her first venture should prove unsuccessful? We need not blame a woman who thinks it unnecessary to die of a broken heart when the man of her first choice abandons her, and we may be glad if she displays sufficient elasticity of temperament to enter into a new relationship. In such a case she will surely be prudent if she declines to stake upon the relationship any larger quantity of ideals than the man commonly finds available for the life purpose.

To-day women are taught, in conformity with the demands of the average male, that when they give themselves they must do so unreservedly and for always; but it is precisely out of such utter self-surrender that all the tragedies of women's lives issue. The self-surrender imposes upon women a condition of slave-like dependence, and thus love lays upon them burdens which are rarely, if ever, borne by the male. If it be true that the detumescence impulse of the male is so constituted as necessarily to lead men from one woman to another, it follows that women, if they are ever to attain to a free and truly human life, must be systematically educated in such a way as to enfranchise their minds from dependence upon the male sexual impulse. If it be truly man's nature to forsake women often, women must also learn to range through several sexual experiences until they attain the one in which their spirits are at peace and their children rightly fathered:

"Till for her child a woman find
The father fit in form and mind,
To him unfit, and with no ruth,
Let every woman break her troth."

—Dehmel.

As things are to-day, and in consequence of the contempt visited upon women who enter into sexual relationships outside the forms of legal marriage, a woman is intolerably dependent upon the man to whom she has once given herself. If she is as ready to leave the man as he is to leave her, she is universally stigmatized as a whore. Hence she plays a part in order to keep the man by her side, and this gives him an overwhelming advantage in their relationship, and makes him an exploiter of her mental energies.

The duplex moral code has depraved the male alike in moral character and in sexual instincts; it has made him mean-spirited; it has deprived him of the understanding how to approach love in an atmosphere of freedom. He has become the slave of a single suggestion, that of marriage. He must be kept chained up, like a watch-dog, and has forgotten how to behave himself when the chain is slipped. Although for the moment I am criticizing the sexual conduct of the average male, the reader must not suppose that I am adopting the attitude of a feminine counterpart to Strindberg, for there is nothing more remote from my mind than the spirit of the man-hater. In the existing order the sexual conduct of men and of women is equally open to criticism, and the necessary duty of criticism is equally painful in both cases.

Under the conventional code all possible sexual rights are given to the male, whereas the female has three alternatives only: marriage, celibacy, or prostitution. This last possibility involves an utter disregard of the prohibitions of our sexual morality, so relentless in other respects, and the reason for the inconsistency lies on the surface—man has need of this institution. The code is drawn up by men, and must contain provision for the satisfaction of the various demands they make in their relationships with the other sex.

Prostitution comes into existence in response to the urgency of the senses; it is a way out, and from the male point of view not altogether a bad one, since it effects for men an enfranchisement from the dominion of sensual needs, whilst leaving them entire personal freedom.

Marriage, on the other hand, viewed from the male standpoint, exists to provide a favorable social platform. The "marriage of reason" is founded upon the increase of property, and therewith of influence. It is the culmination of man's social efforts, a field for the coöperation of the sexual impulse, the reproductive impulse, and the faculties of the social climber. From this point of view, marriage, like prostitution, regarded as the work of a god dealing with the inferior creation, is not so much amiss. Between these opposite poles of the sexual life, prostitution and the marriage of reason, the male provides—for himself—a third alternative, the love-intimacy. This yields transient erotic stimulation, without furnishing social advance, but also without imposing social duties, and without the distasteful environment of prostitution. All three possibilities are at man's free disposal, whilst a woman must choose one or none, either finding satisfaction in one of the three for all her needs, or else enduring the deprivation of the most vital condition of existence.

We speak of woman's economic dependence upon man, but this is mere child's play in comparison with the sexual dependence resulting from the conditions just analyzed. A man has so much to bestow that by a woman the first comer may be hailed as a deliverer, as the giver of all good things, graciously offering marriage. "He has married her"—"Will he marry her?"—Such is the refrain that rises continually from the market of the sexes. It is not for him, but for her that everything depends upon marriage. If he does not marry, he need suffer no lack, and need incur no risk; he remains free to love, to dally, to "live." In woman's case the possibilities must be chosen singly. She must love and be married; or love and be forsaken; or, claiming the man's freedom in respect of dalliance and "living," must accept submergence in the abyss of social contempt. Can we wonder that the first of these chances, love and marriage, appears to her the most desirable, all its dangers notwithstanding?

In self-respect and genuine chastity woman has everything to gain and nothing to lose by overleaping the barriers within which

her life is at present confined and by which she is now forced to grasp at marriage with any man who is willing. The complete perversion of courtship in the upper circles of society is a proof how little true sexual modesty is left to women under the dominion of the present sexual code. How small is the self-respect possible to the average woman who must snatch at any chance of attaining legalized "sexual security." The respect of the code for true chastity is trifling, since it is taken as a matter of course that the newly-wed woman shall at once and without demur surrender all to her husband, proceeding from the very outset even to the intimacy of the common bedchamber.

The women who to-day deliberately accept a life of sexual deprivation do so because they will not entertain any love relationship which may entail mental debasement, and under the existing conditions of the sexual life the danger of debasement is almost inseparable from the free intimacy. The woman throws herself away and accepts mental degradation who gives herself to a man incapable of full appreciation and understanding of her qualities, incapable of giving her a tender and whole-hearted affection. Hence the possibility for woman of genuine sexual satisfaction is dependent upon man's capacity to understand, to appreciate, and to love. But masculine capacity in these respects is at present in a declining phase, as the outcome of generations of sexual corruption and of the dominant pharisaism of the male. The inevitable consequence is that an ever larger number of free-spirited and desirable women deliberately choose a celibate life—not because they are free from the natural desires of sex, but because these desires are associated with mental requirements that cannot now obtain fulfillment.

CHAPTER VII

FOLK-HISTORY IN RELATION TO THE MORAL QUESTION

Duplex Morality as a Protective Wall. Consequences of Masculine Sexual Morality. Effects of the Resulting Duplex Mental Attitude upon Psychical Unity and Development of Character in the Male. Sexual Anarchy. Die Judin von Toledo. Duplex Morality in Literature. The Problem in the Antique World. The 1,300 Verses of Menander.

A rational civilization is one whose precepts, moral rules, and conventions are well adapted to the natural needs of mankind, thus giving scope for the attainment throughout the social organism of a state of stable esthetic equilibrium. Where nature is unduly coerced, such an equilibrium is impossible. In so far as our moral precepts are unreasonable we remain at the level of savages. Among certain primitive peoples we find moral rules dictating that the teeth should be colored black, that certain sound teeth should be extracted, that the lobules of the ears should be perforated and stretched till they touch the nape of the neck, that the skin should be tattooed, the eyebrows epilated, the lips tinted blue. Many of our own conventional rules are at an intellectual level hardly higher than this.

The diversity of moral codes among different nations and at different stages of civilization affords a clear proof that no moral precepts can be accepted as permanently inalterable. All are subject to revision. It was formerly believed that modesty or sexual shame was an original instinct of mankind, but modern anthropology has shown that among many savages such clothing as they wear fulfills a purely ornamental purpose. Detestable in our view are the child-marriages of India, involving much misery and even grave physical injury; yet these marriages are definitely

prescribed by the moral code of the country. Among the Balanti of Senegambia no girl can find a husband until she has been deflowered by the king, and this potentate often receives expensive presents to induce him to render a girl marriageable. Of the Bisajos we learn that public officials are appointed to deflower the girls. In Malabar the same duty is allotted to the Brahmans. In certain Arab tribes a girl is greatly lowered in her husband's eyes if he finds her still a virgin when he marries her. "If you had been worth anything," he complains, "men would have loved you, and you would have chosen one of them who would have deflowered you."[5] "It is a similar sentiment that among many peoples leads a girl to preserve the presents of her lovers and to make a display of them when she is married, for she knows that this enhances her value in her husband's eyes."[6]

Most orientals still regard women as unclean, at least during menstruation. Mohammed forbids the touching of a menstruating woman "from the waist to the feet," apparently on hygienic grounds, however, for during menstruation women's sexual feeling is greatly increased, but sexual intercourse is inadmissible. In Japan until a very recent date women were forbidden, as unclean beings, to set foot on a certain sacred mountain. The further east we go, the more stringent is the demand for conjugal fidelity imposed upon women. In Turkey, an unfaithful wife is drowned in a sack, or thrown from the top of a tower. At the least suspicion of unfaithfulness a woman is reminded that the Bosphorus is close at hand. Among certain savage tribes a widow must always carry about with her the bones of her deceased husband. In Greenland the saying is current, "she mourns so deeply that you can hardly recognize her for dirt."

In China the remarriage of widows is legally permissible, but is regarded with social disfavor. Of the savage Kabyles, Haneteau and Lestourneux write: "Their moral code does not tolerate any

[5] Quoted by Schurz, and reported by Havelock Ellis in his paper on "The Origin of Prostitution."

[6] *Ibid.*

kind of sexual indulgence on the part of women outside the limits of marriage. . . . If a woman gives birth to an illegitimate child, both mother and child are killed." In some savage tribes, in such circumstances, the seducer is also put to death.

Speaking generally, we find the duplex sexual morality existent as a protective wall round woman wherever her maintenance depends exclusively on the male, and wherever there is lacking any *social* provision for the upbringing of the offspring and for the care of women during pregnancy and childbirth. The moral code is designed for the defense of women against the physically stronger male, and far from being a fine and late flower of civilization, it comes down to us as the vestige of a primitive institution, the best means available in former days to protect the weaker sex against the strong hand of the male. May we not infer that a higher civilization can dispense with this means of protection, being competent to establish institutions that shall safeguard women without depriving them of their freedom as human beings? To induce submission to the deprivation of their most vital human rights, economic motives are commonly invoked.

"I am almost forced to believe," wrote Hedwig Dohm forty years ago, "that it was on politico-economical grounds that women in India were persuaded to accept suttee as a moral duty."[7] No one wished to accept responsibility for the maintenance of widows. From the note-book of a French traveler we cull the following account of a widow-burning: "As soon as the flames began to crackle and to lick the corpse upon the pyre, the widow appeared, to the accompaniment of intoxicating music. She was robed in scarlet and decked with flowers and betel leaves. Pale, half-swooning, made drunk with saffron-brandy, leaning almost unconscious upon the shoulder of a Brahman, with tottering steps she walked thrice past the opening in the pyre. At the third passage the priest pushed her into the gap, and with a heartrending cry she disappeared in the flames."[8] All this in the name of morality!

[7] *Die wissenschaftliche Emanzipation der Frau,* Berlin, 1874.
[8] Quoted by Hedwig Dohm, *Op. cit.*

There are certain qualities claiming the name of virtues which are in truth dependent upon nothing more than a lack of understanding, upon a failure to claim the most elementary human rights, and this consideration applies before all to what is specifically denominated virtue in women.

Maeterlinck writes in this connection: "If the virtues of a man are depicted, he is seen struggling in the arena, in the world of action, whereas the virtues which arouse admiration in a woman always constitute a picture of still life, or resemble a beautiful marble statute in a museum. The picture is one void of content; it is composed of enslumbered vices, indolent passions, quiescent ambition, passive movements, and negative forces. It is chaste, because it has no senses; good, because it does no positive harm; just, because inactive; patient and yielding, because utterly inert; long-suffering, because unconscious of injury; propitiatory, because without power to resist; compassionate, because indifferent to extortion or because compassion involves no expenditure of energy; faithful, upright and meek, because these are virtues that thrive in the desert and can blossom on a corpse. But what if the picture comes to life, if the statue passes beyond the precincts of the museum into that open world of action in which whatever fails to share in the current of life is a danger to all environing objects? Is it virtuous to continue faithful to an ill-chosen or morally extinct love, to remain submissive to a narrow-minded or unjust master? Is passive harmlessness the same thing as active good? Is to refrain from telling lies equivalent to being just and upright? *There exists a morality for those who remain upon the shore of the great current, and another morality for those who are battling in the stream.* There exists a morality of slumber and a morality of waking life, a morality of the shade and a morality of the light; and the virtues attaching to the former kind of morality, which may be spoken of as virtues of one dimension, must gain breadth and thickness and become solid virtues, before they can belong to the morality of the second order. The substance and the lineaments may appear similar in either case, but the values are utterly dif-

ferent. The qualities of patience, gentleness, submissiveness, trustfulness, renunciation, self-sacrificingness, are all fruits of passive virtue, and when tested in the rude environment of active life, display themselves as nothing more than weakness, servility, ignorance, dullness, self-neglect, stupidity, or indolence.''[9]

In the practical morality of the sexual life the male is permitted to disregard the limitation imposed upon the female, and men may misuse women without let or hindrance. The license thus granted has wrought its own revenges, and not on men alone, but also on women and on the community-at-large. The man who freely enjoys all the delights permitted him by the duplex moral code, has his senses blunted, his energies weakened, and worst of all, has a sub-flavor of disgust introduced into all the processes of sexual love. The union of the sexes, at one time a religious act, has now become no more than a coarse and horrible ''pleasure,'' and its ''priestesses'' go down to destruction. The male leads a double life: one of these lives is passed in the daylight, by the side of the wife who shares his social existence; the other is spent in a region wherein he is freed from all those restraints which in the daylight are imposed upon his bourgeois personality. Here says he to himself, ''I am an animal; here I may give free rein to the passions of the brute.''

Rarely do the women whose lives are passed in the daylight, the women of respectable society, gain any glimpse of the night-side of our social life. Such a glimpse may at times be afforded by some sudden and hardly credible experience. One night, perhaps, she returns home from the theater alone and on foot. Near her house, in a deserted street, a young man who has been dogging her steps overtakes her, blocks her path, and explains his desires in the plainest possible terms. He is obviously half insane from sexual hunger, and yet he is no criminal but a man of good society. The woman, filled with loathing, hurries home, to pass a night of horror and delirium.

Not without punishment can a man lead this double existence

[9] *Le double jardin.*

—expending, on the one hand, all his available energies in the fierce competition of modern life, and squandering, on the other, his biological forces in the morass of prostitution. His powers being thus sapped in two contradictory types of existence, he will hardly attain a high degree of functional capacity, either biological or social, and he will rarely acquire that psychical unity which is essential to the proper formation of character.[10]

It is for this reason that most men exhibit an unmistakable pathological taint. As we get to know them intimately, on a sudden as by a flashlight some obscure horror is momentarily revealed to us, a dreadful reflex from the night-side of life. The sexual anarchy created and permitted by the masculine code of sexual morals has set its mark upon them.

* * * * * * *

The duplex sexual morality has corrupted man in yet another way, by fostering in him a hypocritical and pharisaical tendency. Thus he is led to despise a woman, to defame her, and to persecute her, for the very reason that she has granted the favor he most desires. Almost every man is ready to play the part of brother Charles, and to stab his sister Mary to the heart. Such a figure is that of Valentin, raving against Gretchen. Yet more typical is King Alfons in Grillparzer's play, *Die Jüdin von Toledo.* Here the king, having just contemplated the mutilated corpse of the woman he has loved, is moved thereby to lofty moral reflection. The passage is all the more noteworthy because the poet, himself a Pharisee upon this question, is entirely innocent of the satirical vein. In Grillparzer's play the "purification" of the hero is effected by his turning away from the body of the woman he has loved, and by his return to his legitimate wife. In almost all men we find some admixture of the spirit of King Alfons. Almost every one of them is ready, as soon as satiety sets in, to put his

[10] "The Rajah . . . and his Minister . . . hold debates upon the contrarieties of a people professing in one street what they confound in the next, and practising by day a demureness that yells with the cat of the tiles by night."—George Meredith, *The Rajah in London,* in Chap. V of *One of Our Conquerors.*

hand to the act of betrayal. The more atrocious the mutilation of the woman's body, the more completely are satisfied the requirements of the moral world-order. As a prerequisite to the purification of the male, it is essential that, before passing judgment upon the woman, he must himself have experienced and enjoyed, in her person and in that of others, all that in her he now condemns. He turns moralist only when satiated through erotic exhaustion.

The man of bourgeois mind, nourished on our existing sexual morality, actually hates the woman by whom he is sexually attracted unless he is inspired towards her by what he calls "serious intentions." So long as he continues to enjoy her, this hatred is subconscious; but it becomes conscious directly satiety ensues. He cannot forgive her for the attraction she has exercised. "Men are thoroughly capable of infidelity, but their domestic altars, their wives, remain sacred. For the other women they feel nothing but contempt, and they keep these latter utterly aloof from their family life. . . . Between the family and such creatures there is a great gulf fixed." Thus, in Tolstoi's novel, speaks Anna Karenina, herself destined to become one of these same creatures. Such, in a man's view, becomes every woman who gives herself to him without guarantees of security. "Fallen women," says Levin in the novel just quoted, "arouse in me the same kind of loathing that I feel when I see a spider."

Wherever this duplex morality is the foundation of social values, we find also that it is one of the main topics of literature and that its problems are universally discussed. For example, in one of Mathilde Serao's novels there is a scene between a young couple on their wedding journey, in which the following dialogue occurs: HE (*tired out*): "I am not a young man." SHE: "You are thirty-two." HE: "But I have lived more life than my years number." SHE (*quietly*): "That is very true." "She," of course, is not expected to have "lived." "She" must have been dead up to the day of marriage, and "He" must first have breathed into her the spirit of life.

In innumerable novels a former love intimacy continually

threatens the position of the heroine, and finally, when the fact of this earlier experience is made public, it effects her social destruction and bars the way to the desired haven of marriage. Not infrequently, she regretfully stigmatizes herself as an adventuress, unworthy of the hand of the noble hero, although in the novels he often generously proposes to overlook the past. In France, above all, do we find that fictional literature is dominated by the problem whether the heroine is "a fallen woman," or whether her "honor" is still intact. In his essay on the Modern Drama, Maeterlinck writes with a fine artistic contempt of the nullity of such problems. In one of Prévost's novels, a young woman, writing in the first person, describes her self-surrender to the father of her child, and how on his account she left her parents' house. With amusing simplicity the author puts the following words in her mouth: "After my fall, I lived in a little house in X. street." Thus she herself knows no better than to describe this experience as a "fall." The French novelists work with a fixed idea of woman regarded as an inalterable type. Their female characters reproduce this type *ad nauseam,* for they make no attempt to individualize. Nor, indeed, does the life which tends to mold itself upon this literature greatly transcend the type thus embodied. The whole action of such literature turns upon the question: "Can he marry her, will he marry her, must he marry her, now that she has given herself to him?" Unless he has been her first lover it is quite out of the question for him to do so. In no other country is the pathetic mendacity which identifies a woman's honor with her sexual intactness so all-prevailing as in France and in the lands where French civilization dominates. It is in these countries, above all, that men, in subtle mockery of their own moral code, do all in their power to deprive women of this prized sexual intactness, and demand for themselves the fullest tolerance for sexual irregularity. The Frenchman's cry, *tue-la* or *tue-le* (the seduced or the seducer) is all the more grotesque because of his unconcealed admiration of the *galanterie* of adultery and the *liaison.* In literature of the type now under consideration we find also frequent reference to the gracious pos-

sibility of forgiveness for a fallen woman. Marriage, we are told, will restore her honor. Assuredly any woman endowed with a healthy independence of spirit would preserve her self-respect far better by the contemptuous rejection of such an offer.

This moral code encourages the worst instincts of the hunter. It is a product of masculine demands and it is vitiated by an essential contradiction, inasmuch as the freedom and enjoyment permissible to men can be secured only by their effecting what they themselves stigmatize as a woman's fall. Only through woman's shame can man secure the satisfaction of what he regards, in his own case, as an elementary natural need.

* * * * * * *

Robert Hessen refers in one of his essays to the scene in the *Iliad* in which Achilles, in high dudgeon at the loss of Briseis, consoles himself in the arms of his slave Diomede. Hessen rightly maintains that the description of such an incident with the sex-rôles reversed, would have exposed the poet to moral disapprobation. Nevertheless, a recent literary find has shown that in very ancient times this duplex morality was subject to criticism and condemnation. In 1906 Gustave Lefèbvre, a French scholar, discovered in an Egyptian village thirty-four leaves of papyrus on which were inscribed 1328 verses forming parts of four comedies by Menander, the Athenian dramatist, who wrote in the fourth century before Christ. Here the duplex sexual code is discussed and censured. A man who has put away his wife when he learns that she has had an illegitimate child feels himself to be a like sinner, and passes judgment on himself. His slave, Onesimos, speaks:

My master is mad! God knows he must be utterly mad!
He keeps on crying out: "Wretch, beast, sinner,
Rascal that I am, I have myself had a love-child.
And yet towards her who so touchingly begged my forgiveness,
Towards this poor woman, I could show no pity,
I remained as hard as a stone, without compassion, a barbarian!"

Next we hear the despairing hero speak for himself:

Here you see them, your masters of all the virtues! One who put morality
Before everything else; one who thought only of the moral appeal;
One who dispassionately appraised good and evil;
A man without sin, a man free from all blame.
—But now God punishes me as I deserve—now I see myself for what I am,
A weak and erring mortal! Hadst thou thyself been ever so blameless, hadst thou acted ever so greatly?
Was not thy wife, in truth, free from all blame,
The victim of evil fortune! Yet thou couldst not forgive her.
Now art thyself in like case, and through thy own fault!
How gentle and patient was she when thou didst blame her,
How rough and cruel thyself!

In the periodical "Tag" (No. 231), F. Litten writes regarding the above passage: "This is perhaps the most interesting portion of the whole papyrus. Just think of it, in the fourth century before Christ the problem of the duplex sexual morality is considered by a young man of the rich and leisured class, and conduct based upon this code is by him unequivocally condemned."

CHAPTER VIII

THE INSTITUTION OF EXTREME DEMANDS

Control of Feminine Chastity as a Consequence of the Father-Right. The Higher Father-Right of the Future. The Child as an Argument in Favor of Duplex Sexual Morality. Primal Basis of Morality: the Interest of the Species. The Demand for Chastity a Necessary One. Sexual Freedom and Sexual Restraint in Relation to the Offspring and to the Race. Individual Disregard of a Socially Approved Code Is Commonly a Fruitless Act of Opposition; What We Need Is a Reorganization of Social Life.

The older morality loves extremes. It demands from women, as Adele Schreiber once put it, that if married she shall bear as many children as possible; from other women, young and healthy but unmarried, it demands abstinence from sexual experiences and from child-bearing; from yet other women it demands that for the satisfaction of a need alleged to be vital in the male they shall give themselves indiscriminately to countless men. Yet the sexuality of women is as little susceptible as that of men of reduction to a single formula; just as little can it be regulated by a single moral imperative. Sound views regarding sex are unattainable unless we make due allowance for all the vital conditions of the individual human life, for the individual's economic and social status and for his mental and physical needs.

There was, however, a rational ground for the safeguarding of feminine chastity, since the institution of such safeguards was a necessary outcome of the father-right. It was reasonable to demand from women a strict adhesion to the monogamic ideal, even when no such demand was imposed upon men, since the man was such conditions, man could impose sexual restrictions upon woman the breadwinner for wife and children. The extent to which, under

while insisting upon boundless freedom for himself can be learned from a contemplation of the harems of the East. Only with reluctance did the male accept the burden of family life, and he insisted that in return for the care thus provided, woman should renounce her most elementary human rights, namely, the right to the free choice of a sexual partner, and the right to the free choice of a sphere of social activity. We know, moreover, that under the existing order man evades his monogamic responsibilities in a thousand ways. The future alone, which will recognize over and above physical fatherhood the higher fatherhood of society, can insure for both partners coequal sexual rights. Not till then, it may be, will a true sense of fatherhood awaken in the male—not until he must prove by his conduct his right to the children he has begotten. So long as fatherhood is dreaded because of the duties it imposes, it will not be possible to awaken paternal sentiments in men except by the working of such enduring suggestions as form part of the family life of to-day. When threatened with the obligations of fatherhood outside the domain of legal marriage and in the absence of the suggestions of family life, man takes to headlong flight, and this shows very clearly that the sense of fatherhood, unlike the sense of motherhood, is far from being instinctive and unconditional.

We do not deny the economic value, and even the individual psychic value, of woman's refusal to permit any approach to sexual intimacy until the marriage bond has been safely tied. We do not deny that in existing conditions the duplex code of sexual morals thus serves for woman's protection. But the iron gratings of the harem and the guarding of its secluded inmates by mutes and eunuchs were also designed for the protection of woman. These are institutions which civilized society will no longer tolerate. Having abolished the harem, we must go further, and establish protective institutions which will not reduce those protected to a condition which is practically equivalent to imprisonment, which will not make them will-less automata in the hands of their protectors. Even among savage peoples the idea prevails that women must be

safeguarded by warning them against hearkening to the voice of the seducer. There are two main reasons for such prohibitions. In the first place the very nature of the sexual processes renders them largely independent of the control of the deliberate will; and secondly these processes have a profounder significance to women than to men, not only in respect of impregnation, but also as they affect their personal existence and their mental and emotional life. In no conceivable stage of civilization, indeed, can sex relationships become matters of indifference or altogether free from risk. It follows that there would exist a social justification for the protective moral wall surrounding the "frailer sex," were it not that this institution entails upon women unnatural struggles and intolerable dependence. We do not wish that women should be deprived of all protection, but we contend that society must elaborate some method of protection better than that afforded by the double code of sexual morality.

The old code is now attacked by social reformers of all shades of opinion, and among the arguments used in this campaign perhaps the most forcible of all is that in this matter reform is inevitable, a necessary consequence of the general progress of the world. The appeal is to plain common sense and everyday observation. The maxims of the old duplex morality are of no practical value for our guidance to-day. To endeavor to make use of them is as if we were to try to make a long journey in a post-chaise. The means for the gratification of such a taste no longer exist. The old post-houses with their relays of horses have disappeared, and we have to travel by train whether we like it or not. Similarly we must make the best of the attempt to be moral after a new fashion, simply because the means for the guidance of our lives by the older morality no longer exist. Ruth Bré, the first woman of our time to voice the demand for a new mother-right, says in one of her books that we have laws by which we can die and by whose precepts we can hunger and thirst, but no laws by which we can live and thrive. The same remark applies to the dominant sexual code.

The following instance may serve to show how the qualities es-

teemed as moral are largely if not entirely subordinate to processes completely independent of the powers of the will. A woman personally known to me was turned out of house and home by her husband on account of the dissolute life she led. She took to prostitution, not simply as a means of livelihood, but because she found pleasure in it. Some years later, when the age of sexual involution began, sexual intercourse became utterly repulsive to her. She still had admirers enough, several of whom were willing to put her existence upon a secure footing and to care for her permanently. She preferred, however, to earn her own living by hard work of various kinds, as waitress, tailoress, etc., and led henceforward a thoroughly "virtuous" life. Are we to imagine that this woman's character had undergone a sudden improvement because that which before had seemed to her an organic necessity had of a sudden become exceedingly distasteful?

The leading argument used in support of the existing marriage system is the dependence of children upon their father's support. When, however, illegitimate and legitimate children are made equal before the law in matters of inheritance, the force of this argument will be undermined. As things are, it is contended that infidelity in the wife is far more serious than infidelity in the husband, because the former entails upon the husband the risk of having to provide for another man's child. But under the new regime, in so far as infidelity may work any material injury to legitimate children, the father's infidelity will be no less effective than that of the mother.

* * * * * * *

Woman's sexual freedom will thus be secured concomitantly with her attainment of ethical and intellectual ripeness, as one of the gifts of a new economic and sexual order; but pending the arrival of such individual and social maturity, the complete abandonment of protective restrictions is impossible. The individual has to be safeguarded, not only against hostile forces from without, but also from those internal dangers that are the outcome of the impulse to self-sacrifice. Such restrictions as are necessary must be

imposed upon men no less than upon women. Limitations must be imposed upon the gratification of the appetites so long as the individual, male or female, remains incompetent to estimate or provide for all the consequences of sexual activity or passivity, and so long as there exists incapacity to control some of the pathological manifestations of the sexual life. Morality is based upon the interest of the species alone, and the only true sexual morality is that which leads to the procreation of healthy and beautiful human beings, that which condemns no individual and no class to misery and misuse, and that which neither suppresses nor artificially corrupts the energies of the heart and of the senses. On hygienic and sanitary grounds the demands for chastity will always have to be enforced to this extent at least, that sexual intercourse must never be an inconsiderate act, must never be the outcome of mere chance. But this demand must be enforced upon both sexes alike in such a way as to prevent the corruption of our sexual life. Everyone must have a right to sexual freedom so long as this freedom works no injury to others; but in view of the dangers to the offspring and to the race that may result from uncontrolled sexual indulgence, certain limitations must obviously be imposed upon individual freedom. These are the first principles of rational morality.

* * * * * * *

Individual disregard of a socially approved code of practice is commonly a fruitless act of opposition. Our study of the moral problems of social life must be undertaken, not with the aim of facilitating individual experiment, but in order to promote the development of a new organization, within which new forms of morality can spring to life. The unassisted struggle of individuals against established views and institutions is of little avail, and roses never yet bloomed upon the martyr's stake. No one can be altogether independent of the opinions of his contemporaries and associates. The mental currents of sympathy or antipathy, respect or contempt, confidence or distrust, which flow to us from others, exercise a greater influence over our emotional moods and our intellectual processes than we ourselves commonly realize. It is upon

the threshold of the subconscious life that these currents impinge; it is here that our energies are reënforced or depleted by influences from without. This is no mere hypothesis, for we are dealing with effects measurable by instruments of precision. An aura of contempt or admiration, of love or of hate, is wafted to a man, and with the aid of the sphygmograph the physician can detect the consequent changes in the organism. The movements of the indicating needle become more or less extensive, and the curve traced by this needle varies accordingly, teaching us that the bloodvessels have dilated or contracted, that the frequency of the heart has increased or diminished, that the pulse has become more or less powerful, that the blood-current has been slackened or accelerated. If one single mental influence from without will thus cause extensive alterations in the organism, *a fortiori* will this be true of a whole series of such influences. Unquestionably, the greater our philosophical training and self-control, the more complete will be our independence of the opinions of others. Yet in every one of us, throughout the complicated tissue of individuality, there runs an ultimate secret thread of connection with the outer world, restricting the power of self-determination and imposing the influence of environmental conditions. Herein, it may be, lies the explanation of all apostleship, of all reforming impulse, and if you will, of all proselytism. It does not suffice us to ascertain new values within the limits of our own individual judgment, for not until these values have gained general acceptance do they become capable of practical application. Hence all reformers should direct their attacks against those falsehoods that are most plainly manifest. Each epoch is characterized by its own predominant untruths. However brilliant the illumination of the social structure as a whole, in some corner or another darkness will prevail. The deepest shadow upon our own time is the shadow of sexual lies, and their evil work of unreason is carried on beneath the veil of obscurity they have themselves created.

BOOK IV

SEXUAL LIES

No sinner she who can sin deny,
But a sin confessed is swiftly punished.
. . . . . .
What folly to reveal by day that which night has hidden,
To acknowledge before all, deeds done in secret.

OVID, ARS AMANDI.

CHAPTER IX

SEXUAL LIES

Frequency of Sexual Lies. Lying Moral Imperatives. Coercive Sexual Need in Youth. Spring in Gyves. Erotic Friendship. Luther and Sexual Lies. Man's Ideal Woman. "My Wife" and "My Husband." Women "Consecrated to Death" as Portrayed in Literature. The Lawgivers of the Sexual Life. Consequences of Neglected Sexual Hygiene. Metamorphosis of the Sexual Impulse into Obscenity. The Lie-Trust Must Be Dissolved.

IN the sphere of the sexual life the frequency of lying almost exceeds belief, for in this domain lying is not merely purposive and deliberate but has become almost organic and instinctive. Misled by the falsity of his own institutions, the philistine maintains the pretense that under present conditions the correct regulation of the sexual life is possible. Such self-delusion need hardly surprise us when we recall the extent to which most people are influenced by mass-suggestions. Witness, for example, the practice of foot-binding in China, by which, in obedience to one of these mass-suggestions, normal limbs are rendered useless for their natural

functions. In Japan people perform harakiri, throwing away their lives, often on account of some idle phrase, under the influence of social suggestion; and we see the like phenomenon in Europe in the institution of the duel. We need hardly wonder that the two mainsprings of human existence, hunger and love, are so enmeshed with lies, or that the lie of pharisaism dominates all forms of the sexual life. Pharisaism falsifies marriage through and through, and falsifies no less the free sexual union, imposing claims which have no bearing upon the essential nature of that relationship.

Even the great ones of earth are not free from the tyranny of these suggestions. Bismarck, for example, spoke publicly of Lucca as a woman who, "*although* a singer was yet quite respectable." Körner, in a letter to Schiller referring to Goethe's union with Christine, wrote: "Goethe will find it impossible to respect the woman who has given herself to him altogether without conditions." By the current code of sexual morals such a woman was inevitably disgraced! These lies pass like false coin from hand to hand; they are phantom-ideas upon which human destinies are staked.

The bourgeois education of girls, assuming as beyond question that marriage, a good marriage, is the best of life's possibilities for woman, builds upon the sand, for the reality of life is so utterly different from what is figured in imagination. Every girl is taught to base her hopes in life upon the attainment of a thoroughly satisfactory and enduring sexual and social companionship; and if these hopes remain unfulfilled she is robbed of internal freedom and of joy in life. Every mother expects a miracle for her daughter and expects the girl herself to play an active part in bringing this miracle to pass. The lives even of the least attractive among women are overshadowed by this expectation. Year follows year. The readiness for compromise becomes continually greater and the desire for marriage—any marriage—ever more urgent. The woman to whom this miracle does not happen is generally regarded as a being of altogether inferior value, as an object of compassion. She has failed to satisfy the demand imposed upon her by education—a

demand tantamount to this, that she should find a member of the opposite sex who impersonates all that the poets have described in the form of ideal love and who is able at the same time to provide her with economic security.

As we have shown, the chief cause of the restricted possibilities of sexual choice lies in the wide-spread existence of mental and physical defects, for it must be remembered that our own imperfections by no means render us less sensitive to the imperfections of others. Hence human beings, instead of being mutually attracted, are apt to be mutually repelled. The assumption that every individual will encounter a fine, beautiful, intelligent and original-minded sexual complement is based on the false supposition that the world is full of such persons; and the consequences of directing a girl's whole education on the basis of this assumption cannot fail to be disastrous. Yet conventionally we continue to describe as the normal lot a condition which is attainable without compromise by a small fraction only of humanity and which is permanently endurable without falseness by a smaller fraction still.

From earliest girlhood our daughters are taught to look upon marriage as their goal, and their attention is thus prematurely directed towards the impulsive life. We should rather bring them up, not indeed to renounce love (for the attempt would be vain), but to learn not to regard love as the pivot of the individual life. A girl should be taught to meet her erotic destiny with energetic elasticity, to live through erotic experiences as does a man and not to allow herself to be so profoundly shattered by an unfortunate episode as to suffer the wreck of her individuality. It should be our aim to make a woman ashamed of allowing herself to be bruised and broken by the assaults of fate, whereas to-day we incline to encourage her to assume the martyr's crown. Women must accept love's dangers and adversities as parts of a typical human destiny, learning to take love lightly, elastically, and resurgently. This emancipation of spirit, this refusal to be bound and broken on the wheel by love, need not in any way involve a light or trivial view of love and its processes.

Before the rise of the woman's movement the sexual lie was even more dominant in feminine education than it is to-day. Girls were taught to regard marriage as the one possibility of existence, and yet in accordance with the precepts of feminine virtue they were to behave as if they never gave the matter a thought. They must play the part of coy maidens, to whom every kind of sexual experience seems utterly repugnant. Even now, the young women who can adopt such a rôle seem most pleasing to the average male. The extent to which women's lives are inevitably grounded on lies can best be understood when we compare the various precepts defining what a woman must not do. A woman must not be a man-hunter. Unless a woman has hunted and successfully captured a man she must not bear a child. To renounce child-bearing altogether and, like an unsexed worker-bee, to compete with men in their own fields of work, is also forbidden her. What is the poor perplexed creature to do? The cruelty and mendacity of philistinism is well shown by the philistine's continuing to give utterance to his conventional views at the very moment when he is pursuing his own interest by acting in opposition to these views. I have known men express great indignation regarding the economic aims of the woman's movement while grasping eagerly for their daughters at any wage-earning position which the work of the woman's movement has made accessible to women.

The conventional moral code demands that the love-life and love-need of woman should be decorously veiled from sight. This life and this need are even assumed to be non-existent. Yet these are facts of life which can be neither denied nor explained away, and to woman a satisfying amatory life is perhaps even more essential than it is to man—for woman is the receptive partner and derives her energies in large part out of what she gets from man. The stresses of sex are far from being peculiar to the male sex. Yet so long as the dangers of social, moral and physical destruction continue to threaten the amatory life of young people, their intercourse must be conducted under the shadow of hypocrisy, and the springtime of their youth must be bound in gyves. Hence, in

the association of young people there is enforced upon them a hateful suppression of cordial tenderness. Even after the first youth is past, the same restrictions are imposed; they are universal where marriage is out of the question and where people "respect" one another too highly to indulge in the most trifling erotic relaxation when they have no intention of living together for all their lives. Not until human beings come to live as nature demands shall we fully understand how utterly remote is such good behavior from a genuine joyful purity of spirit and from a debonair freedom from restraint. This formal reserve imposed on young people who hunger for caresses is the worst of all enforced lies. None the less, the lie represents a social need, for the present generation is still untrained for the enjoyment of those forms of erotic life derivable simply from comradeship—forms that will come to fruition only in a more refined and elaborate civilization than our own. The sole love that our generation understands is that which is intended to involve an immediate and permanent association of all the interests of the two lovers. The idea that upon friendship can be based an erotic life at once delicate and satisfying is remote from the contemporary human understanding. Erotic friendship—how great are the possibilities of happiness, to-day unutilized and running to waste, derivable from this source! Should any now endeavor to base their amatory life upon such a friendship, how they would be overwhelmed by the forces of social disapproval; and yet not until erotic friendship is tolerated can human beings be freed from their present dilemma, which imposes the choice between coercive marriage (for those to whom marriage is economically possible) and erotic starvation.

Luther was an uncompromising opponent of the sexual lie that demands the pretense of a chastity impossible to healthy human beings. Witness the following utterances:

"We must doubtless make many a fight on behalf of chastity; but such daily ardor and rage are certain signs that God neither has given nor will give to man the noble gift of chastity, which must

be the outcome of our free will and must not be forced upon us."

"Why should I strive to live a celibate life when I feel no call to such a life, when I know indeed that God, far from calling me to such a life, has created me expressly for marriage?"

"Maids, if you ask them, will deny that they would like to have men; but they lie."

"We are all created to follow the example of our own parents, to procreate children and bring them up; this is God's command. It is proved to us by our bodily parts, by our daily feelings, and by the example of all the world."

"Owing to the impulses of nature implanted in us by God, it is impossible to remain chaste outside marriage; for flesh and blood are merely flesh and blood, and the natural inclination and prick of the flesh has its own way with us unhindered and uncontrolled, as everyone sees and feels."

* * * * * * *

Men, above all, are profoundly influenced by the sexual lie. Man has made himself an ideal image of woman, an image which in practical life he is unable to endure. In this ideal of woman, unconditional surrender plays a great part, and yet we find there is nothing that the modern man really likes less than this unconditional surrender. When he encounters it he is profoundly disturbed, and will certainly misuse it. Where we find women living in satisfying and lasting sexual relationships, we shall commonly note that they are devoid of the capacity for the complete and unconditional surrender of their personalities. This may partly depend upon organic causes; by nature they may be unpliable: but in some cases it is because they incline towards sexual frigidity. In other instances, however, there is a deliberate determination not to yield to the impulse towards complete self-surrender. Although a man is apt to complain when a woman refuses to give herself wholly, we cannot fail to observe that her constitutional inability for such entire self-surrender (or its deliberate avoidance) serves to bind him to her side, whereas nothing more quickly induces satiety in the male than the unrestricted generosity of the feminine temperament.

Men tell us, indeed, that the coldness of married women is the main cause of prostitution. Yet the very same men will glorify this coldness as purity and chastity, will foster it by their preference for women who exhibit it, and will manifest an instinctive mistrust of women of the ardent type. The average man seems to recognize two types of women only, the wife and the hetaira. Unconsciously, perhaps, he is in search of a third type, the monogamic beloved. In general, however, man's demand for womanly self-surrender seems instinctive, and may in certain cases amount to a monomania. Extreme types of this demand are depicted in classical literature. I may instance: Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew;* Kleist's *Käthchen von Heilbroun;* Nansen's *Maria;* and the heroines of several of Wedekind's ballads. In an admirable farce [1] Hedwig Dohm has depicted a husband's exasperation when his wife undergoes a transformation, deliberately molding her character in accordance with the ideal he has always held up to her as the essence of true womanliness. Herein we have typified the miscellaneous jumble of attributes which man is apt to expect from woman. In the end, the husband is delighted to learn that the molding of his wife in accordance with his own specifications was fictitious, and he welcomes her retransformation to the simpler but fuller and more coherent character with which she has been endowed by nature.

Among the false suggestions imposed by marriage we not infrequently find that people have erroneous ideas regarding the nature and value of their own marriages. Since most free intimacies are wrecked by a hostile social environment, whilst in legal marriage people usually form a permanent association (though often much against their will), the married pair are inclined to regard their relationship as the only true one. Listen to the tone in which a man sometimes says "My Wife." Now he accepts everything in the woman which before he would have disliked or criticized, and his relatives will suddenly discover all possible merits in the legal wife. Upon women, no less, the expression "My Husband" often

[1] *Ein echtes Weib,* produced in 1896 at the Lyceum Club, Berlin.

exercises a peculiar suggestive influence. We sometimes find that a divorced woman will continue to say "My Husband" of the man who has long abandoned her.

Another sexual lie, and an audacious one, is for every man who is attracted by a woman on his road through life to demand, more or less seriously, that he should be her first love, or at least her first "true" love. Even when in his own life-history the woman does not signify a phase of striking import, he still thinks that to her he should represent the consummation of life's possibilities. She ought to have foreseen the sublime moment in which she was predestined to meet him, and in which he would graciously intimate his preference for her. In anticipation of this moment in her life's future she ought, he considers, to have renounced all possible earlier amatory experiences. Whatever knowledge of love she may have had before she met him must have been trifling and of no account; otherwise he finds it impossible to believe that her feeling for himself is genuine, all possible proofs of the depth of her love notwithstanding. I knew a woman whose lover was more to her than life, until by a single word he disturbed the basis of their mutual devotion. The man said to her one day, "It seems that after all I am number three in your life, is it not so?" She could only answer: "It is a mere chance that you are not number thirty. Do you expect me to believe that in your life I am number one?" From the moment of this luckless conversation their joy in one another was at an end.

The foundation of this attitude of mind is the mercantile view of love. I refer to the idea that the capacity for love resembles a loaf of bread or a cake or some such commodity which grows less by being consumed. If you eat to-day there remains less for to-morrow. But this mercantile view is altogether misapplied to the love-potentialities of the rich and healthy human heart. The writer has never forgotten the motto which long ago she saw inscribed at the foot of a photograph of Moritz von Egidy, the ethical reformer: "Love is a force which continues to increase the more of it we expend in loving."

Based upon a lie also is the demand that the husband should be about ten years older than the wife. There is no biological ground for this demand, which is dependent simply upon the economic conditions of the capitalist world. A man, after attaining complete biological maturity, must wait ten years or so before he becomes economically ripe for marriage. Biologically, equality of ages between husband and wife is perfectly normal, and is desirable for the sake of the children, so that the father may remain able to provide for them until they become independent.

The assertion that polygamy is more suitable for men than polyandry for women is another sexual lie. In actual experience a man requires all his powers to satisfy a single woman, whereas a woman can without any (physiological) trouble receive the embraces of several men.[2] In his essay on *Tetragamy,* Schopenhauer draws especial attention to this fact.[3]

Yet another sexual lie. It is impossible, we are told, for a woman worthy of respect to give herself to a man unless she is inspired by a "great love," the love that brings either heaven or hell. It is not considered admissible that a woman should give herself to a man under the influence of a refined, joyous, tender, and delicate disposition of mind, without any expectation of either heaven or hell. By the force of the prevailing suggestion a woman is led to stake her whole soul upon a sexual relationship, to endeavor to merge her entire personality in the experience, and disastrous failure is the common result. Such a prescription for women is formulated in utter disregard of the erotic caprices of the male, which are more changeable and uncertain than anything else in the world. We are told that in women sexuality is a passive state merely, whereas in men it is an active function which makes desire altogether independent of the conscious will. If this be so, then why should for a woman the choice between life and

[2] *Cf.* the well-known remark of the convent gardener in one of Boccacio's stories.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

[3] This posthumous work of Schopenhauer's will be found in English translation in Bloch's *The Sexual Life of Our Time,* Rebman, 1908, pp. 246-7.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

death, between heaven and hell, be subordinated to the chances of such a process in the male? Why should a woman be expected, like the Hindoo widow, to devote herself to the funeral pyre because a man's desire is no longer active? Why, when the man decides to end the relationship, should the woman be told that she must henceforward renounce all further possibilities of love? It is readily comprehensible that when a sweet, refined, and long-lasting sexual partnership has been terminated by the death of one of the pair, the survivor may well be inclined to renounce all further sexual experiences (although even in such a case the demands of nature often prove more coercive than the most hallowed of memories); but when a sexual partnership which did not provide full satisfaction has undergone disruption, why should either partner accept this as the deathknell of all sexual activity? Goethe tells us that the mark of greatness is "to be able at any moment to shake off the trammels of the past and to start life afresh as if it had begun to-day."

Men who are themselves unable to endure sexual abstinence for a year or even three months, reproach as morbidly sensual a young and healthy woman who refuses to accept the lot of the Hindoo widow. It never seems to occur to the minds of such men as these that it would indeed be morbid for a woman of suitable age not to experience the pressure of erotic need. Far-fetched reasons are sought by men to explain why this woman or that has taken a lover, what has been the cause of her "fall." It would be more to the purpose to inquire, in the opposite event, why a woman has not taken a lover. When this happens we shall find that the abstinence is largely dictated by a dread of all the distresses and inconveniences of the wild sexual relationship, but that an even more conspicuous cause is that a woman encounters so few really attractive males. For this reason it is easy to remain "virtuous."

As intellectual and esthetic evolution advances, our demands become more exacting. This gives rise to spiritual isolation, and puts increasing difficulty in the way of attaining a soul-satisfying union with one of another sex. If such a possibility opens out

before us, are we, on account of economic or social difficulties, to turn to another path, to renounce? Are we to stifle that which so urgently demands expression? We have passions, not in order that we may stifle them, but in order that, *if they injure no one,* we may experience and enjoy them, as we enjoy any other good gift of fortune, as we savor a fine fruit. When two persons are inspired with passionate mutual desire, the future alone can decide whether their union is destined to afford them complete and enduring satisfaction. But the primary state, that of reciprocal passionate love, is in itself pure happiness, and deserves as such to be sounded to the depths. Time may show that the love is grounded on delusion; but so long as the belief is real, real also is the happiness, and every chance of happiness must be taken when it comes, and not cast on the dustheap of life. Should the event prove, in any particular case, that the happiness was the fruit of illusion, let the sometime lovers regain internal and external freedom by dissolving their association, and let them do this without any interference on the part of society, without any public declaration of the fact that an intimate private relationship has been broken off, without any enumeration of the occasions on which either or both may have had earlier and similar experiences, and without the incurring of any obloquy. Disillusionment itself is hard enough to bear, and the rupture of established sexual relationships usually involves severe suffering. Why should the matter be made worse by the superaddition of social censure? What two human beings have in common, what draws them together, and what leads them to separate, can be understood by themselves alone, and are matters of purely private concern.

In real life, on the stage, and in novels, we continually encounter the figures of women whose lives are shipwrecked because they have given love under stress of illusion. In view of the existing pressure of social coercion, shipwreck is in such circumstances difficult to avoid. Yet under better conditions a woman might surely pass through such an experience only to gain strength and self-confidence, to become freer and more secure. Consider, for ex-

ample, the character of Anna Karenina, in Tolstoi's novel. Here the suicide of the heroine, who throws herself in front of a train, is not the direct outcome of love, for I think I do not mistake the author's meaning when I assume that Anna, whose relationship with Vronsky has been broken off, has ceased to care for her lover long before she goes to her death. But when she thinks of the possibility of throwing off her chains and making a fresh start in life, her reflections run: "Dolly would say, 'Now she has left the *second* man!'" And she finds the thought of such a comment unendurable. A woman of so fine a character could surely still have found happiness in the world, had not her mind been dominated by false and irrational preconceptions. It is not disillusioned love which drives Anna Karenina to suicide, any more than in real life it is disillusioned love which leads to suicide thousands of women in similar situations. It is by social coercion, by the dread of what people will say, that the victims are flogged to the sacrifice.

Society has never been able to shake off the idea that things have no right to be as they actually are. Anything, indeed, may happen, but rather than make light of its own institutions, society will pretend that many things do not happen. Hence the disillusioned sexual partners must remain firmly bound; the false currency must be tacitly accepted, and must pass freely from hand to hand: "What folly to reveal by day that which night has hidden. To acknowledge before all, deeds done in secret." This lying pretense permeates our literature, the literature which receives social approval. Not until quite recently have we had any descriptions of our amatory life as it really exists. Flaubert remarks of Lamartine's love tales, "Sexual union is as systematically hidden out of sight as the obscurer functions of the digestive organs." To so low a level, indeed, has fallen our conception of love that in modern literature the subject is treated much as our digestive organs treat the refuse of our food; it is formed into excrementitious matter, and comes to light again only as obscenity and filth.

The hypocritical avoidance of all public discussion of sexual matters often forces itself on our attention. In the Harden-Moltke-

Eulenburg trials the greatest storm of disapprobation was aroused, not because certain sexual improprieties had been committed, but because they were openly described in court. Especially was wrath displayed because "even ladies" had attended the sittings, and fears were expressed that before long women would begin to discuss such things with men. Are these, then, matters with which women have no concern? May not women be personally influenced by the reaction of such occurrences as were disclosed in this affair? How spurious was the anger regarding the publicity of the hearings was plainly revealed when, at a later stage, it was decided to try the rest of the case *in camera*. Then the public excitement increased, and the indignation of those who could learn nothing more was now greater than ever.

The fiction that under the conditions prescribed by law and convention the course of the sexual life is all that can be desired, is maintained with a stubborn determination. Although most married couples live in a state of continual friction, while coerced monogamy is everywhere tempered by secret polygamy; although on all sides we see people endeavoring to shake off their marriage bonds, tacitly evading them, or openly taking to flight; notwithstanding the perennial existence of this incurable panic in the haven of marriage, we find that the pharisees, whenever they come across an individual who has infringed the code, pass sentence and proceed to execution. Yet everyone when circumstances demand it, everyone I repeat, walks upon this forbidden path, and a universal sigh of relief would arise from the world if the tyranny of the omnipresent lie were at length removed. And putting aside for a moment the words and actions of conscious hypocrites, the worst of the matter is that the very people whose impulsive life is incomplete and tottering are those who sit in the high places whence are issued the dictates of conventional morality. "We allow our sexual life to be regulated by those who know absolutely nothing of the matter," writes Robert Hessen. Out of this lie, engrafted in the moral code by secret sinners or semi-eunuchs, have sprouted the evil growths which threaten, not individual happiness alone, but

the welfare of the entire human race. A false prudery permits human beings to grow to maturity without receiving any adequate explanation of the most important processes of the sexual life. Were it only in order to furnish safeguards against the dangers of venereal disease, our children should be given suffieient instruction before leaving school. In this respeet it may happily be aeknowledged, we have of late broken new ground, but even here progress is slow, and disastrous ignorance widely prevalent. I knew a servant-maid, a young and merry girl, but an ignorant one, whom cireumstanee was direeting slowly but surely towards a life of prostitution. When I took occasion to describe to her the risks to health attendant upon indiseriminate sexual intercourse she was overwhelmed with dismay. She had had no previous knowledge of the existenee of the venereal diseases.

Owing to the social condemnation of illegitimate sexual intimacies, the acts of illegitimate intereourse are apt to occur under conditions in whieh rational sexual hygiene is no longer possible. The illicit sexual intercourse takes place under dark railway arches and in other dirty out-of-the-way corners, under the hand of the blackmailer, and in foci of all kinds of infection. Long ago, when sexual intercourse was regarded as a religious act, it ean hardly be doubted that sexual hygiene was a duty of the priestesses of love. The cireumstances in which the "priestesses" of our own day exercise their function correspond to the comparatively irreligious conceptions of our own time.

Entire freedom from sexual passion would appear to be a primary condition of bourgeois respectability, and the central feature of existence is described as its most trivial and incidental charaeteristic. Such violence to the essential truths of nature inevitably furnishes a harvest of Dead Sea fruit. The erotic life we have mishandled takes its revenge by springing up everywhere in the form of the weeds of obscenity. The blooming impulses of the senses—mutilated, murdered, and thrown on the dung-heap—reappear thus foully transfigured.

The conclusions arrived at in this chapter may be briefly sum-

marized as follows: It is false to assert that by the institution of marriage the sexual and amatory life is regulated to the general satisfaction. The truth is, that of those who marry the majority fail to find happiness, whilst a very large proportion never attain to marriage at all. It is a lying contention that the actual sexual conduct of men and women corresponds to the pretenses that are socially enforced; that people in reality behave as if the sexual life were a quite subordinate feature of existence; that the conduct which in these respects is regarded as "proper," corresponds in any way to our truly vital needs. The truth is that the sexual life is the focal point of every healthy being whose instincts have not undergone partial or complete atrophy; that upon the full satisfaction of sexual needs depends the attainment of a true equilibrium of the mental no less than the physical personality; that the life which society, formed in this respect into a trust for the diffusion of lies, agrees to regard as consonant with its standards of propriety, is altogether unsatisfying to the average human being; and that people do not live as they pretend, or if they do so live, it is under compulsion.

Since the desire for a satisfying sexual life is universal, it is hard to understand what ground can exist for maintaining these conventional lies in matters of sex.

Let us admit the truth: let us recognize that there is full justification for the desire of every human being to love and to be loved; let us make it socially possible for everyone to satisfy this desire as may best commend itself to the individual judgment—so long as no other person is harmed, and so long as nothing is done injurious to racial welfare.

It is thus our primary demand that the amatory life should be acknowledged to be the central interest of every human existence, and the central feature of social life.

We demand that all the innocuous forms of the erotic life, whether the outcome of social conditions or of individual predilection, should receive an equal measure of social respect and be equally free from vexatious interference.

BOOK V

LOVE

Large and beautiful your Earth may be, but I should perish from the weight that you are able to endure. And heavy as your atmosphere are your hearts.

KURT LASSWITZ, AUF ZWEI PLANETEN.

CHAPTER X

THE NATURE OF LOVE

Meaning of the Legend of the Fall. The Will to Love. Partial Substitutes for the Perfect Love: Social Love; Sexual Love; Contrectative Love. The Larger Expectations of the Male; His Clearer Vision of the Possibilities of Love.

LOVE is an offensive and defensive alliance against life. Two individuals aim at a fusion of their personalities and at a reciprocal interpermeation with energy, to enable them to endure life. To find salvation through love, to secure the unending affirmation and reassertion of the individual ego, is the desire of all loving creatures, and preëminently of all human lovers. Isolated human beings may be compared with straight lines which combine to form, in some cases harmonious, in others inharmonious, geometrical figures.

We possess but the single name of love for the countless shades of this complex sentiment, but we have to recognize in a primary analysis the grouping under this head of two very distinct phenomena. One of these is the approximation of two personalities, passing on to fusion and complete mutual absorption. The other

is the unloading of oppressive superfluities alike of body and of mind. The one who works this miracle seems to the lover to be a Messiah, a Savior. The almost terrifying characteristics of the indescribable experience, of the erotic inroad into the recesses of another personality, of this probing of the mystery of life, are forgotten in contemplation of the astounding miracle of the union itself. In the mythology of all nations we find this process characterized as a Fall into Sin, as the Loss of Innocence which entails exclusion from Paradise. Only when the incredible mystery comes to pass, not through the unassisted will of the partners in the sexual act, but as the outcome of the intervention of some superhuman power, some extra-terrestrial Will in whose hands the human actors in the drama are mere instruments, are Adam and Eve regarded as exonerated from sin. This extra-terrestrial Will, lifting the process out of debasement and uncleanness, liberating men and women from the blind impulses of the animal will to make them chosen instruments of the Universal, is known by the name of Love. The earthly stain is washed away by the waters of divine love. It is by love alone that the lovers are purged from sin; it is through love that they come to play their part in the evolution of the species and are consecrated to the service of their kind.

A problem now imposes itself upon the religious sense of humanity. Does this dreadful and sublime process of sex exist for the purposes of the species or for those of the individual? With the formulation of this problem religion and morality may be said to begin. Some assert that the sexual act is permissible only for the end of procreation, being sinful and unclean where the will to procreate is lacking. Others contend that sexual relations exist, not for the purposes of the species alone, but for those of the individual also—that a man and a woman join forces in love to enable them to contend more successfully with the difficulties of life. In our ice-cold world the man and the woman cling together, transmitting each to each energy and light and warmth—thus, and thus alone, does life become endurable. Cold is the world, cold the

sun for all the heat of its fires, cold are the stars, and cold is the Milky Way; warmth is to be found in the human heart alone. The prophets of gloom, those who refuse to recognize the sex relationship as a means of individual salvation, those who consider the sexual act to be justified solely when effected for the purposes of the species, must be ignored as fanatics. The processes of love, the tender mutual intertwining of two human personalities, must be recognized as valuable, not merely in order to ensure the physical continuity of the species, but also for the development of the individual soul. It is through love that the individual soul first truly opens into flower and first finds vocal expression in the world-old melody—for "through love do mortals touch their greatest heights."

Sorrow fills us with lassitude, whilst happiness makes us overflow with energy. If the desire to affirm the vital individuality through love be denied outlet, the love of life itself is destroyed, and without this no great deeds are possible. Those who bear on their foreheads the insignia of renunciation and penitence have indeed brought light to mankind, but light without fire. Their lives and works have never stimulated men to labor for the enrichment of human existence. (Jesus of Nazareth was not one who renounced, for he was not one who desired.) The pain of renunciation in the self-scourged body makes martyrs, but no heroes.

* * * * * * *

For many centuries our conceptions of morality were influenced by the prevailing glorification of sorrow, of renunciation, of the suppression of the will to live, and were influenced above all by the renunciation and suppression of love. Suffering was supposed to contribute to spiritual illumination. In most cases, however, suffering brings no true illumination, leading rather to a profound depression of the spiritual activities, making them ever more lethargic. The literatures of entire epochs in human history are characterized by the apotheosis of sorrow, renunciation, and self-denial. But experience shows that the suffering we experience at the hands of our fellow men is equivalent in its working to any other

ignominy visited upon us as the sport of Fate. We have said that a sublime and elevating love is rare, but a sublime and elevating sorrow is much rarer still.

From joy, on the other hand, from the vigorous and vital affirmation of existence, we derive energy, elasticity and courage. Sorrow implies denial, and whence shall he draw energy who feels that life denies him opportunities? Men need a spirit of Promethean defiance to display energy at the very time when suffering is undermining all their vital forces. We poor mortals cannot create power out of nothing, and the most elastic among us finds his activities paralyzed when the good spirits take to flight and surrender the field to the spirits of evil.

For effective self-expression the individual must be in a mood enabling him vigorously to affirm his personal ego, and the surest and most confident affirmation of the individual ego is effected through love. One who feels himself to be loved feels himself to be affirmed, and from this affirmation there springs the most intense feeling of vitality. Then everything in us tends to burst into flower; then full expression is given to all our vital possibilities. Hence, by a natural instinct, human beings fiercely resist any attempt to rob them of this happiness, to restrict opportunities for this affirmation of their individuality.

In the folk-lore of all peoples we find a saga of almost identical form, according to which an elemental spirit, an elf, a nixie, an Undine, acquires a soul in the only possible way, through love. Herein is symbolized the life-history of all created things. From the lowliest worm up to the gods in their lofty seats, the will to love makes itself everywhere manifest. Zeus, the father of the gods, tells us, "Even Olympus is a desert without love," and is willing for the sake of love to assume lowly disguises, take part in intrigues, expose himself to misadventures. So also the lowliest of creatures becomes heroic for the sake of love. The male frog, we learn from naturalists, endures without moving every possible mutilation during the sexual act, in which it sits from four to ten days on the back of the female. Between frog and god there is in love

no great gulf fixed. In this domain, gods become earthly, animals grow heroic, and human beings intermingle animal attributes with divine. For the sake of love the fierce become tame and the timid become rebels. Even the Walkyrie, however divine she may have been at the start from Walhalla, becomes, once awakened by a kiss, nothing other than a woman, defying the gods themselves because they wish to take from her the ring of love.

"Go hence to the sacred council of the gods
And give them answer of my ring,
'Love will I abandon never,
Never shall they rob me of love.'"

* * * * * * *

The human need for love cannot be wholly satisfied by the erotic-sexual act, by the mere biological fulfillment of desire; only through love in all its completeness is the entire satisfaction of this yearning to be attained. Nothing can appease the longing but the sense of perfect harmony with the beloved. Such fulfillment is rare; owing to the marked diversity of human beings, such harmony is far from easy to attain. Yet all strive to attain it, and here comes into play the law of adaptation. In this biological domain, as in all others, whatever wishes to avoid being uprooted and cast into the fires of destruction, whatever is fain to avoid a fruitless submergence beneath the waters of non-existence, must be adapted to the environing conditions. In this domain, too, we learn once again that the best adapted is by no means always identical with the finest or the noblest. That which maintains and increases and diffuses itself is of necessity the "fittest," but it is seldom the best. The best is animated by a lofty ideal, inspired by the mental image of an unknowable godhead, refuses compromise, fails to adapt itself, and goes down to destruction.

Thus in Ibsen's *Brand,* Brand is overwhelmed by the avalanche of his unavoidable destiny, overwhelmed because "all or nothing" is his watchword. Thus we find that nobler human stocks perish in their nobility, whilst those peoples who are better adapted to

earthly defilement and oppression survive and prosper. He who, where love is concerned, in spite of hunger and cold and loneliness, maintains unaffrighted his demand for the highest, he who refuses to fall into sin, commonly remains unpaired, and his fine type perishes from off the face of the earth. False, root and branch, therefore, is the easy optimism of natural and social science; the selective process affected by the struggle for existence fails to ensure the survival of the best and the elimination of inferior types. The nobler type, born in solitude, perishes in solitude also. It is only the hope that nothing can perish utterly, that out of Nirvana there will ultimately reissue whatever once has been, which enables us to preserve our faith in the amelioration and ennoblement of life.

In love, as elsewhere, human beings have learned or must learn to adapt themselves. Partial substitutes for that perfection of love of which we all dream are to be found in social love, sexual love, and contrectative love. Social love is that which effects the union of male and female for mutual protection, to enable them to resist more effectively the hostile forces of the social environment. Sexual love is an association between male and female for a term of varying duration—it may be for a single evening and it may be for life—for the satisfaction of the natural impulses. Finally, contrectative love is that which demands mutual caresses and mutual approximation, and demands nothing more. The two individuals, to avoid cold and hardship, draw close together in some corner of the world. They unite neither for the purposes of social life, nor yet for the reciprocal discharge of psycho-physical tensions, but simply, so to say, to keep warm together.[1]

[1] "Two entirely distinct processes participate in the sexual impulse. In the first place we have the physical processes that take place in the genital organs. . . . In the second place we have those higher psychic processes by means of which man is attracted to woman and woman to man. In . . . the normal sexual life both these groups of processes . . . work in unison; but not only is it possible for us to distinguish them analytically; it is, in addition, possible in many instances to observe them in action clinically isolated each from the other. A long while ago I utilized this distinction for the analysis of the sexual impulse, describing the impulse in so far as it was confined to the peripheral

In present day conditions men have a clearer vision than women of the possibilities of love and men are much less subordinated than women to the pressure of environing conditions. Hence it is more difficult for men than it is for women to rest content with any of the partial substitutes we have enumerated. In matters of love man is dominated above all by his individual demands. Woman's love, on the other hand, is general rather than individual. Woman, far more than man, is an instrument in the hands of the species, used for the purposes of the species. Man wills, desires to assert his own ego, deliberately and defiantly pursues his own ends. Women love almost unconditionally and when offered any partial substitute for love are apt to accept it thankfully as if it embodied the whole of love's possibilities.

A man is far more inclined to say, give me all or give me nothing. If for a time he contents himself with one of the three partial substitutes, it is likely to be in the most unworthy form, that of chance prostitution. But never will he forget for a moment—and herein lies the great difference between man and woman—that he has only a small part of the possible whole, and never will that part suffice him. By nature, woman lacks the direct pitilessly clear vision that man has of these things. This is just as well, for did women also see sexual relationships as they really are, the continued existence of the human race would become impossible . . . unless Deucalion were to re-create every generation by a fresh miracle.

organs as the *detumescence impulse* (from *detumescere*, to decrease in size) and in so far as it takes the form of processes tending towards mental and bodily approximation to an individual, as the *contrectation impulse* (from *contrectare*, to touch, or to think about). . . . The detumescence impulse is sometimes the sole manifestation of the sexual impulse. . . . The other component, the contrectation impulse, also manifests itself occasionally . . . in isolation. . . . In the sexually mature normal man, the detumescence impulse and the contrectation impulse act in unison and hence he is impelled towards intimate contact with the woman and is ultimately driven to effect detumescence by the practice of coitus. Nevertheless we must hold fast to the idea that in the normal adult male the sexual processes may . . . be theoretically analyzed into these two components. This is true also of woman.''—Moll, *The Sexual Life of the Child.* English translation, 1912, pp. 29-30.

CHAPTER XI

THE SPORT OF LOVE

Frascata's Letter in "La Vie Parisienne." Gallant Love Contrasted with Tragic Love. Deeper Significance of the Sport of Love. Olympic Love-Sport of the Gods of Ancient Greece. Love-Sport of the Martians in Lasswitz's Novel. A Pure Sport of Sentiment as an Ideal of Civilization.

Métella (reading)

Dear, can you recall
How you met at a ball
Jean-Stanislas, Baron de Frascata?
'Twas only last year
That a friend, at my prayer,
Presented me to you, Métella.
. . . . . .
But to come to my motive for writing,
A man of wealth and fame,
A friend of mine, his name
De Gondremark, leaves here to-morrow.
Following his caprice
He hopes to visit Paris.
Amusement is his single aim,
And (knowing that I knew the town)
He asked me how to find the same.
I smiled (you surely will not frown)
And answered: "Go and see Métella!"
Hearken, then, my prayer,
Amuse him well, my dear;
As formerly, so now, be good and kind.

To please him, without guile,
Smile with your sweetest smile.
To you I send my friend with easy mind.
When he comes back here (for he will return)
Let him such memories with him bring
That from my friend's talk I may learn
Revived delights of sweetness without sting.

MEILHAC AND HALÉVY.[2]

This letter from Baron de Frascata which Métella the courtesan sings as an aria embodies the pure sport of love, utterly remote from the earnestness of the higher love. It displays to us the possibilities of mondaine love, gallant love, light love, in dexterous hands; and we see that, in the courtesan, the woman is still valued and honored. The letter shows us that at the very time that Frascata is sending his friend to Métella he is himself cherishing the memory of the hours he has passed in her company.

Gallant love, utterly different from passionate love, is an indispensable requisite of civilization, and may ennoble even prostitution. There have been periods in history in which the courtesan represented a lofty feminine type. The hetaira of ancient Greece had nothing in common with the tragic figure of the *fille de joie,* the "gay girl" of our own day. The Greek hetaira was reincarnated in the loved mistress of the renaissance, in the *amoureuse* to whom love was a sport pursued with a delicate art and without any loss of womanly self-respect. Such women as these were conspicuous in history for centuries. Such a woman was angel and fury in a single personality, the very genius of love, and might be at the same time the genius of war and of government. To her male contemporary who still understood how to enjoy, she was a fountain of delight. Catharine Sforza was a warrior of such outstanding excellence that Italy, in enthralled admiration, spoke of her as the *prima donna;* we are told of this amazon that to her one thing only seemed as important as warfare—the care of the treasures of

[2] *La Vie Parisienne,* musique de Jacques Offenbach, Paris, 1867.

her body and the cultivation of love. At a later date, in France, gallant love received full social recognition.

"Under the *ancien régime*," writes the Abbé Galliani, "such friendships were taken very seriously indeed. Marriage was a hunting field, but in liaisons constancy was seriously demanded." It was then understood that even to hetairist love there attached a portion of the divine essence, giving it common qualities with the perfect love. It was understood that the feelings of sympathy, friendship, and tenderness which give rise to mutual attraction suffice to justify a woman's self-surrender to a man. Zola recognized that even the prostitute loves when he makes Nana say: "*Si je n'aime rien je ne suis rien.*" Thus, to her, existence and love are identical. Undine remains an elemental spirit until she has been kissed as a woman. In part, also, gallant love is unconsciously utilized as a means of defense against the love that is dangerous, against the Eros who destroys. But only in highly cultivated hands is gallant love able to maintain its value, its liberating power; only in such hands does it remain brilliant and radiant, affording, for all its reputed superficiality, a glimpse of the profound.

Gallant love exhibits another peculiarity. In this form, as in no other variety of love, the self-preservation of the individuality remains possible, for that process which we have named the dreadful inroad into another ego does not occur in gallant love. Herein it has advantages over all the other partial substitutes for love, social, sexual, and contrectative. It is less dangerous than the all-dominant love, such as leads to the ultimate sacrifice, to the ultimate surrender of the individual ego—less dangerous especially to women.

Women have a natural inclination to throw open the inmost recesses of their being; they are like tulips which we buy in the street with their petals tightly folded, but which, when we take them into a warm room, open to display their inmost heart. Now, it is one of the laws of love that an ultimate privacy should be preserved. However full the self-surrender, however free and honorable the relationship, there should remain a region of ultimate reserve—or if even the last treasure of individuality should

be bestowed, at least it is essential to retain power to restock the treasure-chamber. For this reason forms of relationship have been elaborated whose essential purpose is the maintenance of this necessary reserve, the preservation of the individuality. In this seeming egoism there is concealed a profound altruistic motive, for what is reserved is the own ego, whereas that which is given expression is all that is capable of objective relations with the other's personality.

Of all the partial substitutes for love, the one which men best endure is mondaine love. Even in the genuine love-intimacy, as soon as the expression of affection exceeds the limits of mondaine love, the stability of the relationship is endangered. To the male, the light society tone affords a real relief, enabling him to forget his yearning for the almost unattainable ideal love. The tragic note in an intimacy fills him with alarm. It results from this that to the average civilized man of to-day the women who seem most worthy of admiration are those of a worldly, elegant, and intriguing type; and it not infrequently happens that a woman of refined temperament, knowing what men admire, endeavors to mold her character in conformity with this perverted ideal.

The deeper significance of gallant love lies in the protection it furnishes against the Eros who destroys. It exercises a controlling influence over the elemental forces converting them to the service of mankind, where, untamed, their working would have been disastrous. Thus gallant love becomes a truly civilizing factor. The inner meaning of sportive love is that those who engage in it will not allow themselves to be yoked, oppressed, ground to powder, by erotic experiences. The wild elemental forces must become delicate and well-managed instruments of daily intercourse. Even the gods amuse themselves with gallant love, for we are told of such sport in Olympus. But the sport of love demands that the players shall be highly cultivated, or it will degenerate into buffoonery or unsavory impropriety. Beyond, there must always stand love in earnest as an ultimate possible goal, for every approximation between the sexes begins with this love-sport. Love is a game—in-

volving serious issues. But as soon as the matter tends to become serious most people begin to play awkwardly, grow alarmed, and throw up their parts. The love of the game is lacking; sport and earnest are alike bungled by our latter-day mortals. So rare is the talent for love that those who should enjoy this refined sport fail almost invariably in one direction or the other. If they remain light-minded, they degenerate either into horse-play or into obscenity. On the other hand, if they take love seriously, their mood passes on into tragedy, and they make shipwreck of their lives. The rich values of a mutual love-sport remain for the most part unknown quantities.

A modern poet and thinker shows us in an immortal work that the sport of love need have no association with lasciviousness, and that it is intimately connected with the possibilities of a loftier human development. Kurt Lasswitz, in *Auf zwei Planeten,* makes clear to us how we suffer upon this planet of ours from the dust and sweat with which our loves are contaminated. Transporting us to the planet Mars, he shows us what the sport of love might be. Here is a race hundreds of thousands of years in advance of our own, in advance alike organically and in the artificial elements of civilization. All the burdens under which we labor on earth, all that presses us down and quenches the divine spark within us, all that is dark and dull and earthly—from all these things, by the birthright of their happier star, the Numen, the children of Mars, are free. With them intellectual and esthetic values are distinguished with the most perfect clearness of vision and are not, as with us, confounded in a most inextricable confusion. They resemble us in bodily physique, but are perfected and liberated from the burden of gravitation. In the novel, Mars-born and Earth-born meet, and love springs to life. But when the Earth-born man stretches forth his hand to bind the Nume to his side, she refers him to the rules of the game. He, the Earth-born, cannot understand the love-sport of the Martians. He recognizes their moral perfections, enabling them with minds unclouded to solve all the difficulties which lead on earth to conflict and trouble unceasing;

but what can be the significance of the Martian love-sport? He understands it cannot possibly be mere trifling. The loves of the Numen are characterized by a perfect maintenance of the integrity of the individual ego, and by perfect mutual respect for each other's personality. Unknown in Mars is the stress of passion under whose dark sign we Earth-born have to live our lives, and through whose dominion, when we "love," the ego of either partner is led to vex that of the other with manifold claims and oppressions. In Mars each individuality remains for ever free; two lovers unite in a divine sport, and yet beneath the sportive surface lies the serious significance of procreation. The Fall into Sin, the loss of innocence —that is to say, the loss of individual freedom—is there unknown. The Mars-born woman replies to the wooing of the Earth-born man: "If I were to give myself to you, I should descend from the pure play of the feelings to the coercion of passion; I should lose my freedom, and should have to return with you to your planet. Large and beautiful your Earth may be, but I should perish there under the weight that you are able to endure. And heavy as your atmosphere are your hearts."

* * * * * * *

Goodness, profound goodness, an unselfish affection for the other's personality, must be the foundation of love in sport no less than of love in gravest earnest. Through this sport of love, through such association for reciprocal enjoyment, human beings cannot fail to become better. The sport of love demands more altruism than love of sublimer order. Where the latter exists, the mutual attraction is as it were organic and two people belong to one another almost without effort. Great love, sublime love, is the perfect harmony of two human beings, and springs to life at the meeting of two personalities predestined to such an effortless union, wherein the being of either spontaneously affirms and reënforces that of the other. What remains, in such a case, for the will, the altruistic will, to do? To affirm, to strengthen, to cherish, to understand the other ego, it is merely necessary to affirm, to strengthen, to cherish, to understand oneself.

In the other kind of love, that which begins as a contest and as a sport, there is far more scope for the exercise of the altruistic will. A primary obstacle to union, and one to be surmounted through altruism alone, lies in the circumstance that the individualities are strange each to the other and not reciprocally commensurate. Only through the blending of the two natures, only by the purposive subordination on the part of each of all egoistic demands, will a common happiness become possible. It results that in noble hands the sport of love fosters goodness, gentleness and mutual consideration.

CHAPTER XII

LOVE-WITCHERY

The Eros of Diotima. Love-Witchery as Symbolized in "A Midsummer Night's Dream." The Siegfried-Brünnehilde Myth. The Influence of Christianity in Sustaining the Conception of Woman-as-Destroyer. Her Rôle in Literature. Replacement of Love-Witchery by a New Ideal.

From the earliest infancy of our race the witchery of love, its inexplicable quality, has always inspired a sentiment of dread mingled with respect. Every race has its fables concerning those around whom love has woven spells. In the celebrated discussion of love in Plato's *Symposium* the general assent is ultimately given to a dictum of the priestess Diotima, "Eros is no god, but a demon." The finest representations of love-witchery are to be found in the words of Shakespeare and of Wagner, the former depicting the grotesque aspect, the comedy of the passion, while the latter deals with its tragic issues. In Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the couples chase one another like lunatics. Led by the nose by sprites and elves, they love passionately at one moment and quarrel fiercely the next. A youth runs away from a maiden, but returns to woo her passionately when his eyelids have been moistened with the juice of a plant. Though the wood is but a small one, so long as the sprites, the elves, and Puck, the master-spirit of mischief, are at work, the lovers are unable to find one another. A stone in the path seems to be a huge mossgrown hill, while Puck himself trips up the actors' feet and makes them stumble. Confusion, folly, and enchantment must continue until the sprites have been driven away and until the veil of illusion has been withdrawn.

The other poem in our world literature in which this particular aspect of love is delineated with almost superhuman greatness is Wagner's *Götterdämmerung,* describing the tragedy of Siegfried and Brünnhilde. Siegfried, the life of the earth, the smiling, fearless hero, who has broken the spell, who has passed through the flames to awaken Brünnhilde from her charmed sleep, Siegfried breaks his faith, is false to his love. In the hall beside the Rhine, a magic draught is handed to him, with the words:

"Welcome guest,
To the house of Gibich!
From his daughter's hand
Receive this draught."

He drains it in a toast to Brünnhilde, but as he lays down the cup Brünnhilde passes from his memory, for another woman has enchanted him by her miraculous arts. Gunther tests him with the words:

"High upon the rocks she lies;
By flames surrounded
. . . . .
Only he who breaks through the flames
. . . . .
Can set Brünnhilde free."

Wonderingly, questioningly, Siegfried repeats the words, with a momentary resurgence of the elusive memory. But in an instant he has again utterly forgotten all that has happened. To win Gutrune, not merely does he renounce his forgotten troth to Brünnhilde, but he braves the flames once more, robs Brünnhilde of the ring, and forces her into the arms of another. What has happened to Siegfried? The magic draught handed him by Gutrune is no more than a symbol for the incomprehensible charm to which every man may in his turn succumb.

"More sincerely than he
Swore none ever oath;
More truly than he
Holds none to his word;
More purely than he
None ever loved:
And yet all oaths,
All promises,
All truth and all faith—
He has broken as none ever before."

* * * * * * *

Love as a permanent feeling cannot be the outcome of any past impulse, but can exist only where the lovers are able to influence one another continuously. What Goethe wrote of inspiration is no less true of the ecstasy, the rapture of love: "It is not a commodity which can be kept unchanged in a box year after year," it must be used always fresh and fresh. Biological science has often attempted to explain the phenomena of mutual attraction in man and the higher animals. It has frequently been noticed that similarity causes a powerful sexual attraction. In this case it might be regarded as nature's aim to emphasize some particular type, to develop and intensify some remarkable peculiarity. Just as well, however, the tendency might be towards the elimination of a particular type, for the offspring of germ-cells exhibiting too close a similarity are commonly deficient in vital energies. Robert Müller writes in his *Sexual Biologie*: "There can be no doubt that a close similarity on the part of the conjugating germ-plasms leads to a diminution of their biological energies." This is the rational ground for the prohibition of incest in all religious and moral codes; and in the folk-lore of almost all peoples we find some story or saga relating the untimely death of one who disregards the prohibition. Nothing but the highest conceivable perfection in both partners can render incest permissible. From the incestuous union of Siegmund and Sieglind is born the most glorious of heroes—but only to the demi-gods is an incestuous union permissible. Among the

morbid conditions so prevalent to-day we frequently encounter a quasi-incestuous impulse. Men, in especial, are apt to experience sexual attraction on account of psychological similarity. A man often demands of a woman absolute identity with himself in every poise and mood of the soul. The modern man loves the reincorporation of his own ego, and is remarkably obtuse to the stimulus of dissimilarity.

The opposite extreme, the attraction of the utterly dissimilar, often manifests itself in the same inexplicable way. Moreover, we are influenced not merely by the natural and inborn characters, but by the artificially implanted stimuli characteristic of the civilized human being, so that the problems of sexual attraction become ever more difficult to solve.

Dread of the witchery of love is especially characteristic of the male. Man has always been afraid of woman as the temptress, the sorceress, embodying the forces of destruction. He trembles before her for the very reason that she allures. Millions of women have been the prey of adventurers, liars, cheats, and seducers; and yet woman has never dreaded man generically as the tempter, the destroyer. It is her mystical mission, it would seem, not to fear man, but to deliver herself up to him for life or for death. Whatever the consequences, she must and will be sexually mated. But man trembles, hesitates, takes to flight, when faced by his own desires.

None but a man could incorporate in the figure of a woman so much of the demon as Wedekind has incorporated in the earth-spirit Lulu. From the earliest times the masculine imagination has loved to depict this dread of the earth-spirit. At the close of Grillparzer's tragery, *Die Jüdin von Toledo,* the Jewess must be slain and dismembered by the moral world-order of her time because King Alfons has been bewitched by her. The same *motif* inspires Hauptmann's tragedy *Kaiser Karl's Geisel.* In every historical and every literary account of illicit love, we find the woman represented as the spider spinning her web. In Liszt's biography we read, "he was entangled in the snares of George Sand." Poor

weak little man! If woman had manifested such hatred and dread of man as man has manifested of woman, she would have made herself a by-word. Yet every-day experience teaches us how much more women suffer at the hands of men than conversely—were it only for the reason that when a woman is unhappy in love, her fruit, the child, suffers with her, and if she perishes the child perishes also. Nevertheless, women do not regard Eros as a demon before whom they must tremble, but go to meet him with a joyous laugh. Herein lies matter for reflection.

It is to Christianity that we owe the conception of woman as temptress and evil spirit. The Nazarene factor of dread of woman was reënforced by the Christian mismanagement of the sexual impulse. The temptress-element in woman acquired an esthetic value, and was cultivated by the decadent male for the stimulation of his own outworn desires. The "Sphinx with the claws," the evil spirit, the earth-spirit, were essential to enable him to enjoy the pleasures of sex. All the aspects of hypersensuality must come to the aid of his incapacity. In classical Greece the "woman-temptress" is inconceivable, because altogether superfluous. Greece had its heroes. Aspasia exhibits no trace of the demon-temptress. Even when Diotima speaks of Eros as a demon she is not referring to the existence of that furtive impulse of destruction which the masculine imagination loves to incorporate in his generic conception of woman; she is thinking of the operation of sexual and productive forces, of the power that enables human beings to transcend the limits of their individual and empirical existence, the power that intermediates between gods and men.[3]

The virile energy of the old German stocks was likewise independent of this idea of woman as temptress and evil spirit. For them, the ideal types of art and of life sprang from real and vital needs.

[3] I am well aware that certain recent interpreters regard the Eros of Plato's *Symposium* as the god of paedophilia—of homosexual love alone. I do not consider it necessary to accept this view, and continue to interpret and employ the terms Eros and erotic in the current meanings, to denote the ordinary processes of heterosexual love. In this usage I follow Nietzsche.

In the Monna Lisa elements of the temptress are intermingled. Despite the motherliness of her figure, we cannot fail to see that it incorporates in addition the esthetic decadent ideal of the sphinx, passively alluring, a cold-blooded force of laceration and destruction.

* * * * * * *

What has been and what is woman to man? Plaything, victim, demon-temptress, destiny, or social requisite (as housewife). According to the latest advices she is occasionally something more—a human being with a soul. The "interesting woman," the Undine of the sagas, whom the moral philistines characterize as adventuress, stigmatizing her as an embodiment of all that contrasts with the virtues of the domesticated woman—this elemental being from whose charms man is unable to free himself and whom he therefore dreads, has of late become capable of taking her place by man's side and of sharing his home. No longer is Undine thrust back into the outer darkness, no longer is she regarded simply as a force of destruction; and the domesticated woman of the old type is not now considered the sole possible guardian of conjugal love. Man sometimes welcomes the water-nixie to his hearth-side. In a wonderful poem, Camill Hoffmann depicts the tragedy of woman, the elemental:

NOVELLE

"It is feast-time in the castle, and the lamplight
Streams through the windows and out into the forest;
The violins call to the dance,
And the echo of the music passes from tree to tree.

"The wood-princess winds snake-like,
Threading the tree stems, and listening with fixed gaze;
Her eyes overflow with the tears of despair,
Her wild hair streams out on the breeze.

"The Margrave with his young wife
Comes out upon the balcony. As if the forest summoned him
With a wonderful voice of woe and pain,
Of a sudden his heart becomes heavy with sorrow.

"The Margravine, her hand on his arm,
Notes how his glance wanders through the darkness.
Strangely disturbed she murmurs:
'The evening air strikes chill, let us turn our backs on the night.'"

In accordance with the ideal of a newer civilization we no longer yield to the Margravine the exclusive claim to the honors of the legitimate wife, and we are ceasing to regard the elemental spirit as requiring to be exorcised and banished to the ends of the earth. The ardent, passionate, elemental woman is not conceived merely as the demon-temptress. Men sometimes marry wood-princesses. Ernst Schur writes of the conception of woman as demon-temptress and destroyer in the following terms. "We have here displayed an incapacity for the conception of a truly modern ideal of love. . . . Man and woman are constituent parts of a single energy, and the World-Spirit has created them, not for conflict, but for co-operation. . . . Woman is neither a plaything nor a demon-destroyer, but a human being. . . . Beside the erotics of romance, as furnished by the artists and poets of our own day, of whose one-sidedness and monotony we are so painfully aware, a new erotic ideal is springing to life, and this will find worthy representation at the hands of the artists and poets of the future. They will describe for us the love-experiences of mature and equivalent human beings—experiences on whose deepening and widening current we shall be borne towards the solution of the problems of a new humanity."[4]

Let us hope that this prophecy may be fulfilled, and that for the poets of the new time women who are truly human may be an ideal, not of literature merely, but of life. Women whose natures

[4] *Ueber die Erotik*, "Die neue Generation," 4th year of issue, No. 2.

will be complete, powerful and elemental, but who will exercise no demoniacally destructive influence. Of demons, sphinxes and earth-spirits and of the contrasted types like the figure of patient Grisel, the world is weary. Surely mankind will learn, alike in poetry and in real life, that it is not necessary for woman to be either destroyer or destroyed, but that there is a third possibility. We shall learn to make a home for the elemental spirit of love, a home in which the destructive impulse will vanish and only the power of loving will be preserved. No more will the wood-spirit be thrust out into the forest, nor Undine hunted back into the water. Literature, which exercises a constructive or formative influence upon life, must learn from the study of a new type of woman, elemental and yet life-giving, a type that already exists and is destined soon to become more general—must learn to divest the earth-spirit of her dangerous qualities and to endow her with all the constructive energies of womanhood. Since neither the type of woman as demon-destroyer nor the type of the docile housewife of old corresponds to the actualities of modern life, a new love-ideal must be incorporated in poetry. The Norse poets, and Ibsen in especial, have made a beginning here. In delicately traced silhouettes of women who are not the central figures of Ibsen's plays we find depicted the coming love-ideal of the newer manhood. Petra in *An Enemy of the People* and Lona Hessel in *Pillars of Society* exhibit artistic foreshadowings of a new womanhood, elemental without being destructive, exercising an ennobling, purifying and stimulating influence. For such is the truly demonic or divine influence of love, leading us onward and upward, liberating, transforming and rebuilding the soul. In life no less than in art will this love of the new time effect its great transfiguration.

CHAPTER XIII

LOVE-HATE

The Struggle of the Sexes, Its Significance. The Primal Curse. "Penthesilea"—a Drama of Love-Hate. Cannot We Put an End to Love-Hate by a New Art of Love?

What is the significance of the saying in Genesis: "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman"? We do not overlook that in the story of the Fall enmity is imposed between the woman and the serpent and not between the woman and the man. The demon-serpent is, however, merely the intermediary to the performance of the sexual act and thus the primal curse attaches to those who perform this act. It is decreed that man and woman are to be bound together by the processes of ardent love and yet are at the same time to be animated by a mutual hostility. What is the inner meaning of this struggle between the masculine and the feminine elements, the struggle which pervades all nature? Hating, to desire one another ardently; loving, to tear one another to pieces: this is the primal curse, the fruit of original sin. Victory and defeat are here one and the same. Inasmuch as either unites with the other, each has conquered the other, for love is victorious over hate.

Among all living creatures we find the same struggle of courtship: to attract by all possible means, to woo, to deceive; to flee and to fetter; to surrender, resisting to the last. The two most powerful impulses in nature are found in conflict in the processes of sex. One of these impels every creature to give itself to another unconditionally, and the more perfectly this impulse is fulfilled the closer is the approximation to happiness; the other impulse is that of

self-maintenance and self-assertion, the preservation of the form of the individual ego.

Couchant beside love, ever ready to spring, lies hate, the denial of love. Hate is as horrible as the pure affirmation of love, the love of love, the desire for self-surrender to another, is beautiful and happy. Hate develops out of evil feelings and evil feelings can arise out of nothing just as little as can poisonous gases. Hate has various components and the factors of this emotion are found mainly in association with the factors of love itself. Literature that is truly inspired never fails to take into account the hatred and savagery, the weariness and misery which occur side by side with love, which are indeed a part of love. That literature, on the other hand, which is based on the sexual lie has always refused to admit the existence of this association and the dangers it involves. "Where love ends, hatred begins," writes Tolstoi in *Anna Karenina*. "We have tried everything, but the screw has been turned once too often. . . . She understood at last how painfully she at once loved and hated him." Thus hatred is closely akin to love, and love that feels itself betrayed can hardly fail to undergo metamorphosis into hate. The incredible has happened: an individuality has surrendered itself freely and has been deceived. Where the union was believed most intimate and perfect, nothing but a void remains; where the individual ego had seemed forever inseparably fused with that of another, there is now seen to be nothing but illusion. The ultimate sacrifice, the last unveiling of one's own soul, the opening of the holy of holies, has to the other been a mere dramatic performance and not an act of worship. So hatred arises out of the ruins of love, and the passions give tongue like a pack of hounds upon the chase.

Here is the daily tragedy of sex. In a work conceived on earth but reaching out to the stars, a modern poet magnificently symbolizes this process. Kleist depicts for us the struggle of the sexes and the drama of love-hate. We have here the pure spirit of tragedy, for it is the tragedy inseparable from human life that is typified in Kleist's *Penthesilea*. Two of the finest types of our species

are selected as the protagonists of the drama, whose central idea is that the woman must conquer the man in battle to win the right to crown him with the gift of herself. Achilles, the hero, and Penthesilea, the amazon, face one another and "dash together like two stars." She must gain the victory over him if she is to follow him to the "Festival of Roses." "Look how, sparkling in the golden panoply of war, lusting for battle, she rushes to meet him." The contest rages—the drama of sex begins. The hero is stronger than the amazon, but in heroic deception, in joyful self-surrender, he leads her to believe that she had stretched him in the dust:

"I was disarmed by thee;
I was dragged weaponless to thy feet."

Here we have the climax of love: he desires to be the conquered one; she, denying the impulse of her amazonhood, is eager to become his prisoner. But almost immediately the spirits of evil intervene, and misunderstanding arises. Achilles is told that if Penthesilea is to become his, she must in actual fact overcome him in battle, and after she has confessed her love for him he sends her a challenge to single combat. He means his part to be play-acting; he will meet her but lightly armed, ready to be easily overthrown. She receives the challenge, but does not understand it, believing herself despised and deceived.

"He who knows me too weak to measure myself against him,
Is it he who summons me, Prothoë, to meet him in the field?"

Here love's mistrust enters the field and hatred begins to rear its head. Has the holy of holies been opened all in vain?

"The words I murmured in his ear?
Were they to him words without meaning?
Does he not remember the temple beneath the peak?
Was it an image of stone my hand there crowned?"

Has she wasted the sweetness of her soul upon this stone image? Whilst she has bestowed her whole heart, has he been merely playing at love? Tenderness without limit, the sweetest of assurances, the rhythms of her soul poured out in the music of her voice—has all to him been "words without meaning"? Thus awakens the spirit of hate that couches always so close to love, and the tragedy moves onward. She speaks:

"Be it so, then,
Now shall I find force to stand against him.
Should Lapithæ and Giants strive to protect him,
Still shall he bite the dust!"

The passions raging in her own breast are summoned to her aid to enable her to lay him low. These passions are symbolized by the poet as a pack of baying hounds, and Penthesilea addresses them severally by name:

"Up, Tigris, up, I need thee! Up, Leona!
Up, up, Melampus with the shaggy mane!
Up, Akla, thou who slew the fox; up, Sphinx!
And thou, Alektor, who outran the doe!
Up, Oxus, who o'erthrew the savage boar,
And thou, Hyrkaon, bold as any lion!"

. . . . . .

(Penthesilea kneels, displaying all the signs of frenzy, while the dogs howl in dreadful chorus.)

"Thee, Ares, now I summon, dreadful one,
Thee, great founder of my house!
Send to my aid thy chariot of brass!
Thou who of ancient towns the walls and gates
Dost grind to powder, ploughing through the streets,
The while destroying men in myriads,
Send to my aid thy chariot of brass.

Upon its platform let me set my foot,
Grasp in my hands the reins, roll through the fields,
And like a thunderbolt from out the storm
Fall on the head of this abandoned Greek.''

Thus rages every woman who has been greatly wronged, every woman with the great proud heart of an amazon who has given her love and believes herself to have been deceived. Thus rages the frenzy of sex.

Turn now to the figure of the man. Consider his heroic faith, study the tragic contrast. (They are the sport of demons, the demons who confuse the tongues of the protagonists in the struggle of the sexes, that perforce they shall misunderstand one another.)

'' 'I swear,' he said, 'by cloud-compelling Jove
She will not harm me! Rather would her arm
In single combat turn upon herself,
She would cry ''Victory,'' giving herself to death
Rather than do me injury!' ''

He wishes to be overcome by her, for he desires ''to see the temple of Diana.'' Even when he is told of the hounds and the elephants accompanying her whom he is to meet in single combat, his faith is unshaken.

''Meanwhile draws near the Amazonian Queen,
Her hounds at heel; o'erlooking rocks and shrubs
Like to a hunter searching for his game;
And as the branches for her form make way,
The hero sees her, at her feet would fall:
'His antlers,' cries the queen, 'betray the stag.'
Her bow with furious strength thereon she bends
Until the stringed ends kiss: with aim too sure
Her arrow speeds, pierces Achilles' throat.
He falls: therewith a shout uprises loud
From all around, a war-cry long and fierce.

With arrow far-projecting through his neck,
Sore wounded, yet alive, he struggles up
And turns as if to flee. Whereon she cries:
'Upon him, hounds, on Tigris, on Leona!'
Their fierce attack soon drags him to the ground,
One here, one there, they seize and rend and tear.
Now bleeding fast from many fearful wounds
The dying hero yet thus softly speaks:
'Penthesilea, my betrothed, my love,
Is this thy promised flower-festival?'
She hears, and heedless as a lioness
With hunger mad and wildly seeking prey,
She strikes, his armor wrenching off; her teeth,
With fury fired, she clenches in his side,
In dreadful emulation of the pack:
As Sphinx and Oxus worry on the right,
So she the left side tears, till as I look
Her mouth and hands alike are dripping blood.''

To display more clearly the frenzy as if of demoniacal possession thus manifested in the struggle of the sexes, this very moment in the drama is the one chosen by the poet to describe the sweetness of Penthesilea's womanliness.

''She seemed the offspring of the nightingale
That dwells within the grove Diana loves.
Cradled among the mountain oaks she sat
And poured her heart in song forth to the night.
So sweet the song that travellers, hearing it,
Would listen all the night with hearts surcharged.''

What she has done has been done in the delirium of love-hate. When her ordinary consciousness returns, so little does she remember what has happened, that she imagines her only contact with him to have been that in which she had to overcome him in order

to be able to become his bride. It is her happy delusion that she has merely fulfilled the mystic requirement anticipatory to their union.

Why is she made to tear her lover's flesh with her own teeth? The point has been misunderstood, and on account of this fearful symbolism Kleist's genius has been called in question. Yet to the writer it seems that in this very symbol we find the ultimate and most profound manifestation of the nature of the struggle between the sexes. "Have I kissed him to death?" wails the agonized woman when she at length learns what she has really done in the madness of her rage.

" 'Did I not kiss him, tell me, did I rend?
. . . . . .
I erred, it seems. And yet, to kiss, to bite,
For one who loves as truly as I love
Are equally the outcome of that love.
. . . . . .
But now I'll tell thee what my meaning was:
Thus, and thus only, would I show my love.' "
[she kisses him]

Last of all the tragedy moves to its appointed end:

" 'Now deep to delve within my bosom cold:
A feeling forth I'll bring that shall destroy,
Sharp as a spear and malleable as iron,
Then in the fire of misery to refine
To hardened steel; in poison soaked anon;
Corroded next with acid of remorse,
Upon the anvil of eternal hope
I sharpen it until the dagger's keen,
And thrust it to its home within my heart,
And thus! And thus! Once more, and all is well."
[she falls and dies]

She fell, because her life was proud and strong.
The dying oaktree will outlast the storm.
The soundest oak of all, the forest's pride,
Falls to the ground, uprooted by the blast.
And why? Because its branches catch the wind."

* * * * * * *

Is it possible for disillusioned love to lead, not to hatred but to friendship? Do we not merely dishonor the corpse of the dead love to give it the name of friendship? Only when on either side no underhand act has been committed, when there has been no treachery, when neither party feels ill-used by the other, and only in cases in which love's fulfillment has been prevented by external forces, is such a transition conceivable; where both persons are highly cultivated, truly civilized, it may possibly occur. We find examples in the life-story of some of the great ones of earth who with skillful hands were able to control the tragic might of the elemental passions and to direct the energy of these into the channels of life-long friendship. Love is renounced, but kindly relationships between the former lovers are maintained. Richard Wagner and Mathilde, Goethe and Frau von Stein, Lenau and Sophie Loewenthal, Jeanette Strauss and Boerne, and to some extent also Grillparzer and Kathi Froehlich, were successful in this. For such an issue to be possible it is essential that the man and the woman should have a profound sense of intimate association, and above all that the man should have an enduring power of love freed from erotic impulses, but allowing of the persistence of a sentiment of deep spiritual tenderness towards the woman. Finally, it is necessary that the environing circumstances should be favorable, and among these environing circumstances the most indispensable of all is that in one way or another the woman should be useful to the man.

In such a favorable concatenation of circumstances it is possible for love renounced to escape the lapse into hatred, and to undergo transformation into friendship. It may be that in future generations there will arise a new Art of Love, aiming to extract

from every relationship between a man and a woman all the good it may offer, without expecting more than is possible. The significance of such an art will be neither more nor less than this: to make flowers bloom where one has resigned one's sweetest hopes, and if the intensest longing has had to rest unsatisfied, not on this account to fall back into despair and hatred, but out of renunciation itself to draw sustenance for a new kind of welfare.

CHAPTER XIV

LOVE-NEED

Frigidity of Our Own Epoch. La Grande Amoureuse. Pathological and Social Love-Need. Sensual Impotence. Its Pathological Causes. Psychoneurosis. Freud's Theory. Psychic Inability to Control the Physical Manifestations of Sexual Tension. Male Demi-Vierges. A Sequence of Loves. Literature of Love. Love-Poetry of the Future.

No kind of sorrow or suffering, whether physical or mental, is comparable to the sorrow or suffering of unhappy love, to the pain of love-need. It involves the loss of all sense of internal freedom. The state is one of death-in-life; it is "a vast region of darkness, silence, and ice," to quote Maeterlinck's description of the profundity of desolation. In the immensity of cold, night, and horror, one thing only lives and moves: the heart—the plainly perceived center of all the misery. We can readily understand that human beings, however ardently desirous of love, have at all times dreaded the power which can cause so much misery. But just as there have always been those who flee from danger, there have always been others drawn irresistibly to love precisely because of the dangers involved.

"I hope that your blood is free from fever, and that your imagination is not troubled by visions." Thus speaks the wife to the husband in Mathilde Serao's novel *After the Reconciliation,* when their love has come to an end. For it is this that increases the agony, which puts the heart upon the rack, the play of the imagination. Peace comes only with the oblivion of forgetfulness. This is why the ideas "forget and forgive" are coupled in the common phrase. Only one who is able to say "I have forgotten" can freely forgive or can truly be said to have surmounted his troubles.

The natural sorrows inseparable from love are intensified by a distress which is neither natural nor necessary, by the love-need peculiar to our civilization. There is a savage tribe known as the Minnetarie among whom the right of love's choice is given to the women. When a lover is disinclined to respond to a girl's advances, perhaps because his affections are already given elsewhere, we are told that "he lays his hand gently on her breast, whereupon the girl leaves him and returns to the dance." It seems to me that this custom is profoundly symbolical, and that the symbol is well adapted to illustrate the roughness which, in our civilization, is attendant upon the dangerous processes of choice and refusal. The roughness arises out of a profound incapacity to grasp the inner significance of the process, and the incapacity itself is the stigma of our time. "Do we find to-day, either in poetry or in life, one whose existence is veritably rooted in love?" asks Faustina in Wassermann's *Dialogue concerning Love*. Again, in the same dialogue we read, "Most aptly Rahel praised Goethe because in *Wilhelm Meister* the three women who were able to love,—Marie, Aurelie, and Mignon—all die. 'For,' she said, 'there is no place for such figures in our life.'" In the history of civilization there have certainly been periods rich to concentration in manifestations of the amatory life. One such period was the Renaissance. In the eighteenth century, again we find evidence of capacity and inclination to savor the most delicate processes of love. The vacancy and arid sterility of our own life is plainly manifested to us in contrast when we study the diaries, memoirs, and correspondence of this period. To-day the gift to love brings many dangers with it, and especially to women, "for there is no place for such women in our life." If in earlier times the *grande amoureuse* was one endowed with the highest faculty of woman's genius, the faculty to love, we find that the *grande amoureuse* of to-day is rather of the passive nature. She must incline not to love but to be loved, and the less inclination she has to surrender herself (being either congenitally anesthetic or affected with artistic hypersensibility) the more will she rouse desire, the more ardently will she be loved.

This tendency is a plain outcome of degeneration. If by the selection, by the preferential choice, of women who love less ardently and are comparatively passive, we eliminate capacity of woman to love and to give herself freely and desirously, the one field in which women can develop the highest genius is closed to them.

In women it is only this genius of the heart which is comparable to the genius of the intellect in the male, in the degrees in which the latter in certain types attains to its loftiest altitudes. In this sphere woman can be the very embodiment of genius; all that she can best effect in art and in research are derivable from this genius of the heart; thence come all her intuitions; thence spring instincts and premonitions, minutely ramified and interwoven, so that woman becomes as it were a magnet irresistibly drawing to herself all the secrets of the cosmos. The woman endowed with the genius of love is also the intuitive mistress of all wisdom; she is the priestess incarnate; it is to her that revelations are made. Now that love energy is no longer tolerated, the elimination of this type of woman is in progress, and this involves a process of deterioration of the species. Poverty in the power to love and a lack of true spiritual freedom are to-day usually found in close association.

How seldom do we encounter anyone equally endowed in respect of the senses and of the intellect! On all hands we see human beings who are either too rough or too obtuse, who are either dominated by purely animal passion, or else manifest a eunuch-like "neutrality." The genius of Eros is lacking to us; we are unable to derive and to utilize erotic currents from the impact of two intelligences. *"Je n'ai jamais été aimé comme j'aime,"* complains Mme. de Staël. Such women as this, born for love, seem unable to-day to find their predestined mates. Vainly through life they seek a twin-born soul, a man loving as strongly and as ardently as themselves, a man able to receive and to endure without loss of individuality the whole wealth of love of a woman's heart.

But one example of such a relationship is known to me, a relationship in which neither surrendered individuality to the other,

in which in spite of mutual absorption each remained a perfectly independent personality, where on the part of both, simultaneously and unceasingly, there was giving and receiving. I refer to the relationship of the two poets, Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning. "Your memory, your essence, the idea of you," writes Browning, "are firmly fixed in my heart and brain." This is the essential, the precise thing of which the man to-day is for the most part incapable. He forgets!

The capacity for love is not independent of the will—at any rate not of the will in its psychical aspect and released from material conditions. If to-day so much disorder and uncleanness are the fruit of love, it is because appropriate material conditions are lacking. The sensual impotence of our contemporaries, their incapacity to react to stimuli, their "love-loathing," are the outcome of the corruption and weakening of their physical energies, of their deficient powers of nervous resistance, and their general confusion of mind; a contributory cause is also to be found in the impairment of the selective process. Inheritance from a bad stock creates the predisposition; the conventional code of sexual morals which permits to the male every possible sexual excess is an accessory factor; and the struggle for existence, whose intensity in modern social life exceeds all normal dimensions, renders the evil acute. The modern man's incapacity for love and his lack of desire for love have as their correlate his immoderate lust for work. He regards as tolerable a state of affairs, regards it indeed as the only state compatible with his peace of mind, in which he has no time left to be a human being. It is in this more than in all else that he displays himself to be the epigone of the heroes of antiquity. To many people, it seems that work has become an end in itself, and they forget that work is after all a mere means for the higher purposes of life.[5] The loftier our estimate of the social activities of mankind, the more ridiculous does the whole business appear to

[5] "The aim of life itself, that is to say, the fullest possible development for every human being, enabling him to enjoy to the utmost."—Augustin Hamon, *Le Molière du XXe siècle: Bernard Shaw*. 3rd edition, 1913, p. 120.

us when we see these activities conducted for any other end but this, the production of a perfected humanity. Can we doubt that for this end it is indispensable that the association of the sexes should be graced by love? Among the Greeks of the age of Pericles we see Aspasia, lyre in hand, sitting crowned amid a group of noble men. We vainly seek a modern counterpart for this picture, for Aspasia does not associate with men of common fiber, and the man of nobler blood "has no time" to sup with Aspasia. There is yet another reason why Aspasia is solitary to-day, why she never becomes to any man his predestined mate. To the man who is well-born (in the literal sense) she may be a stimulus and a joy; she may represent, for a time, happiness and love. Before meeting this man she may have been the joy and refreshment of others. But never will she be the embodied complement to the psychopathically dispersive impulse of the contemporary male; never can she be the predestined mate for the satisfaction of his inchoate desires: for she is no passive amoureuse who, herself sexually anesthetic, merely allows herself to be loved; her personality is synthetic, complete, and tenderly voluptuous. The conditions of contemporary life do not permit Aspasia to exist.

The incapacity for love, the lack of power for a joyful advance along the road where youth and beauty and goodness offer a full measure of happiness, the dependence of the male for sexual enjoyment upon the influence of sexual fetishes, psychical as well as physical—this most characteristic phenomenon of our time is pathological in character, the outcome of a disease to which Professor Freud of Vienna has given the name of *sexual neurosis* (also *sexual psycho-neurosis* or *sexual compulsion-neurosis*). He shows that normal sexual activity affords no relief for this condition of sexual neurosis as long as the morbid idea which makes the enjoyment of such activity impossible persists unrelieved. "Sexual need and sexual abstinence constitute but one factor of the neurosis; were this factor alone in operation there would result, not disease, but sexual excess. A no less indispensable factor, whose action as a contributory cause is too often forgotten, is *the repulsion of the*

neurotic from sexual activity, his incapacity for love, that psychical stress to which I have given the name of 'repression' (*Verdrängung*). *The neurotic illness arises out of the conflict between the two tendencies* [towards and against sexual activity], and for this reason, in the case of the psycho-neuroses, the prescription of sexual activity can rarely be regarded as a sound one."[6] Elsewhere Freud speaks of this condition as "the conflict between libido and sexual repression," and as "the psychic inadequacy for the discharge of physical sexual tension." Here we have painted to the life the pathological condition we so often encounter to-day. Physical sexual tension, to the degree of ardent desire, is there, but at the same time there is psychic inadequacy for its discharge. In this enormous group of psychically inadequate men we find two sub-groups, that of those in whom the stigma of this inadequacy is inborn and therefore irremediable, and that of those who have acquired it in the steeplechase of the struggle for existence. Persons belonging to the latter group may be cured when the conditions of life become favorable, cure signifying restoration of the capacity to enjoy love. The disposition, whether inherited or acquired, explains the dread of woman so characteristic of contemporary males. From the sexual excitement produced by woman arises the conflict which is the very essence of this disease. The sight or the thought of the other sex arouses the sexual impulse, but the mental conception of the gratification of this impulse arouses a sentiment of repulsion. In most cases this dread, this repulsion, takes the form of anxiety of conscience, so that, for those thus affected, sin, remorse, and shame are the inevitable accompaniment of erotic experience. This pathological disposition nearly always assumes some appropriate philosophical dress; usually that of some offshoot of mysticism, of Buddhism, of Orphic Christianity, of Neo-Romanticism, or of any other philosophy of renunciation which has declared war against "original sin."

Another characteristic, we learn from Freud, of the sexual compulsion neurosis, is the exaggerated conscientiousness of the

[6] Freud, Neurosenlehre, italicized by the author of *The Sexual Crisis.*

sufferers. They go to and fro with an ethical club in their hands and are never tired of using this weapon on themselves and on others. Freud speaks of them as "sexual cripples." In a former work, when the present writer was still unaware of the pathological explanation of the mental state of these individuals, she spoke of such men as the male counterparts of the *demi-vierges*. "They are unable to surmount the ultimate obstacles between I and Thou. They are unable to complete their work, incompetent to possess a woman utterly. Their amatory intimacies are never fully consummated. They get through the preliminaries of love and the first preludes; but that which comes afterwards, the most beautiful and also the most difficult part, remains unenjoyed, unmastered, unconsummated. I am not referring here to what is ordinarily termed impotence. This sentimental impotence has nothing to do with mere physical weakness, but is far more disastrous, since it forever debars those affected with it from an entry into the deepest experiences of love. It is only the strong in soul who are capable of love in its completeness."

All these masculine *demi-vierges,* these sufferers from the sexual compulsion-neurosis, are haunted by Ghosts, like the hero of Ibsen's play of that name. They remain susceptible to stimuli and yet are dead within. Their souls, to use Ibsen's drastic expression, are worm-eaten.

Sexual cripples are to-day in the majority. Hence the urgency of our love-need; hence love-experiences eventuate in pain and disorder instead of leading to enfranchisement. It is for the same reason that the love-need of the healthy among our women has become so acute. For women are still for the most part healthy. In the case of men the "freedom" of their sexual morality and the intensity of the struggle for existence have undermined the sexual and amatory powers. Only through a new sexual morality, through economic emancipation, and through the limitless power of self-sacrifice in the loving hearts of women, can man find salvation.

* * * * * * *

What is love? Richard Wagner, who like Goethe and Lenau,

was one of the heroes, one of the giants of love, called it sympathy.[7] Maeterlinck reveals the secret in the wonderful words, "God made a mistake when he gave us two separate souls."[8] The same poet penetrates the secret even more profoundly when he writes: "However important it may be to friendship and to love, whether another is good or evil, does good or evil, this question has no bearing on our instinctive attraction if only the hidden energy animating another exercises its peculiar appeal."[9] It is this hidden energy to which perhaps one only in all the world can adequately respond, this ultimate essence of the soul, which evokes love.

"The nobler the nature," writes Wagner to Mathilde, "the more difficult is the attainment of perfect sympathy: but in such cases, when attained, it is the greatest thing in the world." Moreover, love is filled with the joy of the discoverer. More and yet more to acquire knowledge of another soul, to rejoice over each new discovery and to grow more intimate through ever fresh confidences thousandfold in their ramifications, to be aware of every stage at which the inner impulsive energy of either has rushed to meet and to mingle with the like energy in the other. This is love, and such love is inexhaustible when the natures of both the lovers are themselves inexhaustible in depth and fullness; but love takes to flight when the joyous barque of love encounters rocks hidden beneath the smiling surface of the waters.[10]

For the very reason that this last disaster is possible, a successions of loves is also possible. Can we love once only? "'And tell me of love's going?—That was not love that went.'"[11] But the poet errs. The human heart is not like a piece of ordinary bread which diminishes in quantity when one eats of it; it is rather like

[7] So Olive Schreiner writes: "The grave, sweet, tender, thing—warm in the coldest snows, brave in the dreariest deserts—its name is sympathy; it is the perfect love." THE LOST JOY.

[8] *Aglavaine et Selysette.*

[9] *Le double jardin.*

[10] Light love stands clear of thunder,
And safe from winds at sea.
—SWINBURNE.

[11] Cf. Mrs. Browning, "Ye never loved at all who say that ye loved once."

the bread in the hands of the Saviour with which he fed all those that were hungry. Yet not because there are those that are anhungered must the heart be as bread to feed all and sundry. It is rather that some have fed full to satiety and gone their way. Because this has happened, because one or more have fed full and hunger no more, are we to bury the wonderful bread of love in some secret place, are we to waste away in vain despair?

The healthy human heart, having become solitary, can always love again when it once more encounters a new possibility of love; and since its energy is limitless it can love each time to the uttermost. We cannot doubt that Goethe loved Frau von Stein, not more ardently indeed, but more intelligently, fully and truly, than he loved the Gretchen of whom he writes in *Dichtung und Wahrheit.* To love ever more profoundly, ever better, ever more unselfishly, this is the road of passion trodden by the great of heart.

In matters of the spirit as in matters of the body there are fashions and streams of tendency which exercise a formative influence upon human society. In one nation the trivialities of love and in another nation the sublimities of the passion may be the main theme of literature. The problem of love as it is treated by one of the masters of wit will naturally arouse different impressions, and therefore induce different reactions, from the representation of a Wagnerian drama. In its treatment of love, as of all things, literature exercises a formative influence upon life. If the discussion and presentation of the problem be commensurate with the deeper realities of existence, literature will react upon reality and will influence the characters of living men and women. I do not share the view of many critics that literature is a mere representation of what actually exists. It is, rather, the presentation of conditions which have hardly as yet come into existence, but are slowly beginning to take shape, a foreshadowing of conditions now in the act of creation. The development into actuality is influenced by the great symbols which literature has created.

The imaginative literature of the high art of love is yet to come. It belongs to the future, for it will be the fruit of a synthesis which

has not hitherto been effected. It will represent for us an amatory life perfectly aware of its own dangers and fulfilled with deliberate purpose. Not by way of the Ovidian galanterie, not by way of the witty and light-hearted French conception of love, and not by way of the deadly seriousness of German sentimentality, nor yet, on the other hand, through the divine and half-divine love of those who, aloof from the earth on which they live, reach out after the stars, will it become attainable to us who are earth-born. But attainable to the earth-born, and therefore capable of representation in the art and literature of the future, will be the consciousness of the fully illuminated will which will animate the elemental phenomena of love and will dominate the processes of the subconscious life. A genius will arise uniting in his single personality the qualities that Shakespeare, Goethe, Kleist, Wagner, Tolstoi, and Lasswitz have devoted to the solution of this problem; his own vital experiences must be such as to render possible to him the production of the literature of the future, which can come into existence only when life, when reality itself, is ripe to be molded by its teachings.

BOOK VI

THE TRAVESTY OF LOVE

Prostitution is a melancholy and horrible travesty of the reality of love.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

God's purposes lie clearly before our eyes, that women must either be used for marriage or for whoredom, or else they must all be strangled.

LUTHER.

CHAPTER XV

NATURE AND ORIGIN OF PROSTITUTION

Definition of the Concept. Myth and Legend. Tellurism as a Means of Providing a Dowry. Decline of Religious Prostitution. The Athenian Dikterion. The Emancipated Woman as a Free Hetaira. The "Young Maidens" of the Cyprian Venus. Rome, Christianity and the Degradation of Prostitution. Its Ultimate Ruin Through the Introduction of Syphilis from America. Attempts at the Regulation of Prostitution. Aggravation of Its Evils. Abolitionist Congress of 1877.

WHAT is prostitution? To answer this question we must endeavor to clarify the concept by defining all its characteristics. The most essential of these is the professional surrender of the person for a monetary consideration. The mere taking of money for the surrender of the person for sexual purposes, where this surrender is not professional or habitual, and is not made to an indefinite number of individuals, does not come within the definition of prostitution—for a married woman is usually maintained by her husband, the husband may receive money from the wife, lovers may

give money to one another. The prostitute is one whose income is entirely dependent upon the surrender of the body for sexual purposes to an indefinite number of individuals. Havelock Ellis writes on this subject: "Since, finally, owing to the frequency of homosexuality, male prostitutes also exist, our definition of prostitution must be independent of sex, and must be to the effect that the prostitute is one who makes a profession of the sale of the body to gratify the sexual desires of numerous individuals, whether of the opposite sex or not."

In myth and legend this institution is interwoven with ideas of dread, horror and disgust. The "abysses of tellurism" and the "witches' brew distilled from a swamp," are the terms in which Bachofen writes of prostitution, contrasting it with the "emblem of fertility represented by the Demeterian principle," referring here to marriage in its dependence on the father-right.

Yet in actual fact this abyss of tellurism was a pathway towards the attainment of the "Demeterian state," the sexual community of marriage. The dowry indispensable for marriage had originally to be provided by a girl out of her own earnings as a prostitute. The contempt for the undowered woman went so far that among the Romans such a woman ranked lower than the concubine, for undowered unions were regarded as destructive of all social order, and constituted a much more indefinite tie than concubinage itself. "If Hetairism were to be radically exterminated, it was absolutely essential that a girl should be dowered by her family."[1]

Hence the first stage towards a sexual order which could rise superior, not merely to the witches' brew distilled from a swamp, but superior also to the marriage by capture and the marriage by purchase that were the outcome of primitive impulses, the first stage towards the foundation of *our* civilization, had as its essential precondition that the girl should win her dowry by a period of preconjugal prostitution. This is the cardinal point in the history, not only of prostitution, but also of marriage.

The second and higher stage, the attainment of which depends

[1] Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht.*

upon more complex and difficult social conditions, consists in the dowering of the bride by her family.

As a third stage upon this path, when the maintenance of the wife by the husband has become impossible, making it essential for the wife to furnish a material contribution to the current expenses of the household, there arises the institution of paid labor for married women. Whenever, in the history of civilization, we find that social conditions prevail wherein the man is no longer able to provide for the support of his wife, we find also that woman has had to undertake remunerated work in addition to her activities as mother and housewife.

The fourth stage in this development belongs to the future, but it is one whose coming is already clearly foreshadowed. The men and women of the future will no longer shut their eyes to the fact that the husband is not competent to maintain himself, his wife, and his family by his unaided exertions. The logical conclusion will be fearlessly drawn. It will be plainly recognized that the earning of a dowry by preconjugal prostitution, the provision of a dowry by the woman's family, and a contribution to household expenses by woman's paid labor,—the three means formerly employed to furnish the wife's contribution to the joint household—are no longer admissible. It will be plainly recognized that woman's energies as wife and mother require to be protected and fostered. In consequence of these considerations, the endowment of motherhood, the maintenance of mother and children by communal effort, will in the future be regarded as a self-evident social duty.

Prostitution is an extremely ancient institution, but the uneasy conscience of society has usually required to find some sanction for its existence. In the ancient world this sanction was found in religion, for at this time prostitution was a religious function. This religious cult of prostitution, through its economic working in the provision of an earned dowry, became the origin of a "civilized" type of marriage—of marriage based, not on capture, but on the dowry. Sexual intercourse, being effected in the service of the deity, was always regarded as a religious act. Wherever a religious

motive underlay prostitution, even though this religious motive was a mere pretext to appease the social conscience, the prostitute was held in higher esteem than the woman living in monogamic marriage.

The temple prostitutes of classical times were enlightened in questions of hygiene, and, if for this reason alone, enjoyed more confidence than other women who were approached with sexual desire. The features of classical religious prostitution are familiar to all, as recorded in the pages of Herodotus. In the fifth century B. C., the Asiatic Mylitta and the Assyrian Astarte were venerated in the performance of the sexual act in their temples or in the adjoining groves. Every woman at one time in her life had given herself for money to the first comer. Doubtless this religious prostitution served in part for the replenishment of the priestly treasure-houses, but this was only one aspect of the matter.

Underlying the practice of temple prostitution there was a spirit of deliberate religious abasement, comparable with that underlying the religious observance of foot-washing that still persists in the Catholic Church. Unquestioning self-abasement, surrender to the first comer in the service of the divine principle, such is the inner significance of the cult. The decay of religious prostitution begins when advantage is taken of the sexual need of the male to force up the market-price of love. The Corinthian priestess was the first female trafficker in love, and as such would have been driven by Jesus from the precincts of the temple.

Apart from mercantile prostitution (as a means to marriage), religious prostitution was practiced on what may be called moral and sanitary grounds. Havelock Ellis states that women who had never been offered to Aphrodite were dreaded as "the outcasts of passion." Only when we come to the modern brothel do we find it completely divested of all religious association. The idea of the sacred character of sexual intercourse has now disappeared, and in its place we find state-regulation. The Athenian *dikterion* was the first brothel. The priestesses of the Cyprian Venus declined more and more to the position of despised but tolerated

prostitutes. Yet women revolted against the pressure of this ignominy. The free hetaira, disdaining the dikterion, threw off the yoke of state control, lived in intercourse with friends of her own choice, and was usually an artist or a poet. The most highly endowed women of the time, those with the finest gifts for love and art, adopted this profession.

The hetairæ of the Pythagoreans, the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Cynics—in a word, of all the philosophical schools of the blossoming time of Greece—were accustomed to devote themselves, not only to love, but also to philosophy, and especially to mathematics and rhetoric. Dufour writes in his book *La Prostitution:* "Nikarete was of noble birth. Having received a good education she was passionately devoted to the study of geometry, and refused her favors to no one who could solve for her an algebraical equation." One of her lovers was the Stoic philosopher Stilpo, whose doctrine, recommending apathy and inertia, she fiercely contested. Philenis, the pupil and mistress of Epicurus in the time of his youth, wrote a treatise upon physics and the atoms. Her correspondence and other writings are said to have been distinguished by a peculiar elegance of style. "My queen," wrote Epicurus to her, "you cannot imagine the pleasure I derive from reading your letters." Leontium was the beloved of Epicurus in later years, and by the philosopher and also by his pupils she was worshiped almost as if divine. The painter Theodor represents her as "the woman philosopher engaged in abstract thought." Her essay against Theophrastus aroused the wonder of Cicero. Aspasia taught rhetoric; the leading men of her time were her pupils and admirers. The hetairæ of that day were termed the Mistresses of Philosophy. They seem to have been women to whom men gave their hearts at first sight, arousing enthusiastic admiration no less by the erotically toned note of their intellectuality than by the intellectually tinged nuance of their sensuality. A social evening with such a woman—supper, music, and philosophy—was often preferred by men to a far more intimate association with women of another order. This circle of poets, philosophers,

and cultured hetairæ, enjoyed a happiness which has rarely been attained before or since by any considerable human group.

The hetaira of classical Greece typifies the resistance of womanly self-respect to the social obloquy tending to attach to illicit love. In Rome, however, social toleration for the hetaira was unknown, and a woman living by love outside the bonds of marriage was refused possibilities of self-culture and of exercising a cultural influence on others. In Rome, for the first time, we find the moral pharisees in arms against the hetaira; here first was applied to her detriment the detestable moral paradox in accordance with which the one used for a certain purpose is despised and defamed whilst the user is regarded as free from blame. With the rise of Christianity the position became yet more hopeless, for prostitution was now thrust into the outer darkness of damnation.

Finally, in the end of the fifteenth century, syphilis was introduced into Europe from the New World. The woman who practiced free sexual intercourse became subject to the venereal plague. As intermediary between men of uncontrolled sexual desires she became the physical embodiment of a danger which stank in all men's nostrils. Nevertheless, the primitive might of sex reasserted itself, and this sometime sacred cult attempted to resume the place of honor. We see the *peccatrice,* the woman of sin, undergoing transformation into the *cortigiana,* and once again she was permitted to devote herself to intellectual cultivation and to concern herself with the nobler side of life. She learned Latin, was a musician and a poet, and was loved. She became a woman of property, surrounded by a choice circle of distinguished men. She was bound to her friends, not through eroticism alone, but also by the ties of human comradeship. She despised an ordinary marriage, but presented the world with beautiful children, and ultimately perhaps entered marriage upon equal terms. This phase of revival was, however, but of brief duration. The prevalence of syphilis induced the authorities to undertake the regulation of prostitution, and Napoleon founded the first *maison de tolerance.*

Physiologists and sociologists agree in considering that the

state-regulation of prostitution, as at present effected, is at once barbarous and useless. It fails, above all, to attain its end because the hygienic control is purely one-sided, being applied merely to the registered woman, while the man, free to come and go, carries the venereal plagues elsewhere, and commonly introduces them into the bosom of the family. Moreover, beside and beneath regulated prostitution, the prostitution supervised by the police, there flourishes unchecked and unregulated the true focus of infection, secret prostitution. The one-sided system of regulation accentuates all the evils inherent in the institution; contempt and shame are visited on the prostitute alone, while her male client remains exempt.

In the year 1877 a remarkable development took place, when there assembled in Geneva the first congress of the International Federation for the Suppression of the State Regulation of Prostitution, of which one of the leading promoters was an Englishwoman, Josephine Butler. Among the English the sentiment of personal liberty is so powerful that the idea of the police supervision of a vast number of women who, however debased they may be, are none the less our fellow human beings, arouses fierce opposition. The alleged motive for such a tyranny, the utilitarian claim that regulation is necessary in the interest of public health, is reduced to a farce by the one-sided character of the control. We are told of this congress: "Here something of primary importance occurred. For the first time in history the problem of the sexual life was discussed by men and women in open conference; and for the first time in history were there found women of position willing to advocate the rights of prostitution."[2] At length there came open recognition of the devilish absurdity of the assumption that it is "moral" to despise one person for the mutual act of two persons. At length, also, the current view that sexual freedom is permissible to men but forbidden to women was openly shown to be illogical and altogether untenable. "Men would have a right to

[2] Anna Pappritz, *Die Prostitution.*

enjoy free sexual indulgence only if the sexual act were possible to them in isolation.''[3]

The storm of opposition which here first began to rage against the one-sided defamation of the prostitute has every justification. Yet we must not, for this reason, join in the indiscriminate condemnation visited upon what so many women are accustomed to term the brutal bestiality and unbridled sensuality of men. The male recourse to prostitution is the expression of a twofold need. First of all there is the social need which arises as the indispensable correlate of the modern marriage system. The second need is physiological. Most women refuse to admit its existence, but it is one whose urgency must never be underestimated—I refer to the need for unfettering sexual intercourse. The demand for such intercourse springs from qualities deeply rooted in the masculine nature, qualities which no possible ''reforms'' will ever succeed in eradicating. Any sane scheme of reform must necessarily admit and allow for this essential fact.

[3] Anna Pappritz, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER XVI

THE NECESSITY OF PROSTITUTION

Prostitution as an Inevitable Correlate of the Modern Marriage-System. The Need for Unfettering Sexual Intercourse.

The necessity of prostitution depends mainly on social causes, which culminate in our marriage system. The happy marriage of the securely placed wife is founded upon the degradation and debasement of another woman, the prostitute, who is required to become a sexual instrument because she must furnish for men a preliminary stage on the way to marriage. The insistence upon two extremes for neither of which human nature is adapted creates the prostitute. These extremes are, on the one hand, the ideal of a satisfactory marriage, and on the other, as the only alternative left open to women by conventional morality, the demand that if unmarried they should lead an utterly barren life of renunciation. The haven of marriage, the inferno of the brothel, or a complete negation of the sexual life: these are the only alternatives for women—unless indeed we accept Luther's suggestion that "they must all be strangled." In Germany there are fourteen million unmarried men and women who must err in one way or another, all moral precepts to the contrary notwithstanding.

In addition to the social need for unfettering sexual intercourse, there exists, especially for the male, the psycho-physical need. Even in an economic and moral order very different from our own, men will always feel a need for the discharge of sexual tensions under conditions in which the sexual act shall entail no serious consequences, either social or spiritual. The intensity of this masculine need becomes manifest when we consider how difficult it is for the individual—and this applies equally to both

sexes—to attain under existing conditions to any satisfying erotic intercourse outside the limits of marriage. In the busy life of a great town, a woman will often pass months without finding an opportunity for mere conversation with a man of suitable age and position and also free, that is to say, unmarried, unaffianced, and not in love.

We can readily understand how men have been forced to organize the institution of prostitution, for men are simply incapable of enduring such a state of affairs. Even women cannot endure it without suffering both in body and in mind. Logically enough man has found a satisfaction for his own need which is forbidden to woman by her very nature. Man himself often recoils from the sexual act on the purely animal plane, for there are plenty of men who are repelled by the thought of casual intimacy with a prostitute. Yet these same men will frequently take any free-loving woman whose acquaintance they have made in the street and keep her for a time as a mistress. When for months intimate association with women has been denied to a man, the long suppressed feelings assert themselves at the mere rustle of a woman's garment. If, in such a case, sexual relations result, the conscious act of "seduction" is often on the side of the woman, who is apt to feel slighted if her advances are rejected.

Women commonly refuse to admit the reality of this essential masculine need, at present satisfied in the main by recourse to prostitution—the need that it should be possible for a man, at any time, without elaborate preparations, and without the provision of complex vital conditions, to come into intimate contact with a woman. It is thought that man's need may be appeased by the offer of moral tracts, by the membership of ethical societies, by evening parties, and above all by "family life." There are strange enthusiasts who imagine that the possibility of intimate contact with women which is offered to men by prostitution may be rendered superfluous by facilities for polite intercourse with highly cultured young ladies.[4] Admission to any sort of family life is to furnish

[4] Hans Wegener, *Wir jungen Maenner.*

an adequate substitute for this elemental need. It is hardly necessary to point out that implicit in this prescription we find all the hypocrisy and mendacity of the latter-day bourgeois sexual order. "Because the young man living in a town far from his home has no means of obtaining access to good families he has recourse to the society of barmaids and prostitutes"—who are always spoken of in a single breath. What about the married men who form so considerable a proportion of the frequenters of brothels—do they also need an introduction to family life? We cannot approach to an understanding of the essential nature of the problem if we ignore the fact last stated. It may be true that this irregular outlet for the discharge of sexual tension is necessary to men only because, under the conditions in which marriage is commonly effected to-day, such discharge at home proves unsatisfying, and because the masculine sexual impulse has been corrupted from youth onwards by the masculine code of sexual morals. The fact remains that so long as prostitution is the only way out, prostitution is necessary. The sexual impulse, stimulated without being satisfied by all possible factors of the social life of civilization, is a source of serious dangers; to men it is a corvée, and not less so to women in like case. But for women no outlet is permissible within the limits of the dominant moral code. A woman who remains unmarried and lives in accordance with this code is apt to suffer from grave psycho-physical disturbance which may in extreme cases eventuate in insanity.

Apart from the dictates of the conventional moral code, there is often found in those of nobler nature a powerful impulse towards renunciation, the outcome of a philosophico-religious belief. From the philosophical ethic of renunciation which entered Christianity, through Orphic undercurrents, from Buddhism and Neo-Platonism, was derived the social morality which aims at the denial of the will-to-live, and the refusal to affirm the ego. There are doubtless good ethical reasons for bridling the affirmation of the physical ego lest its uncontrolled desires should endanger the integrity of the spiritual life. It seems to me, however, that this theory of

the renunciation of the will-to-live, in so far as it relates to the sexual impulse, involves an essential, if implicit, logical contradiction. For the more I concern myself about this particular manifestation of the will-to-live, the more I check it, bridle it, and endeavor to suppress it, the more fully conscious of its existence do I become. If, on the other hand, I grant it the satisfaction it organically demands, then for the first time I cease to be aware of it, I forget it, it is quiescent and leaves me at peace.

We are told that abstinence and renunciation are works of humility. To me, rather it seems arrogant and misguided that we should deliberately and unceasingly attempt to run counter to the most primitive and most clearly expressed will in all nature; and he who sins against nature has to suffer nature's punishment. What is regarded as an act of pious self-abnegation is in reality, like the sin of the fallen angels, an act of defiant opposition. The individual's truly altruistic activities cannot begin until he ceases to sin against the laws of his being, until he abandons the attempt to renounce the implications of that matter out of which he is compounded. Point out to one who is hungry the beauties by which he is surrounded and you will only make him more keenly aware of his hunger. Not until the ego has satisfied the vital conditions of physical existence can it turn to the consideration of spiritual matters. So also renunciation of sex, disregard of the warmth mutually interchanged by two adjacent bodies, become possible only when the mind is at peace, when it is no longer necessary to subdue with scourgings the will to the act of sex. "Whoever has the grace of chastity has the highest life and the finest peace attainable. But your vow of chastity will be idle unless by nature you have the grace of chastity. For it is a grace you can never count on possessing." Thus spake Martin Luther.

* * * * * * *

Whereas the necessity of prostitution for the male is mainly dependent upon his sexual need, in the case of the women who are utilized for the satisfaction of this need other factors are in operation. Above all, there really does seem to exist a peculiar

sexual disposition upon which depends the primary possibility of entering this horrible field of service. Still, the prostitute, as the one who is made use of, is upon a footing altogether different from the man who makes use of her. The simple fact that the man is the purchaser while the woman is the object purchased forbids us to consider them as partners in a truly identical act. Herein lies the germ of a justification of a duplex moral judgment of the process. The man, for all the "bestiality" with which the impulse may rage through his blood, remains nevertheless a free agent. His own social existence is nowise concerned. Moreover, he merely uses for the nonce the person whom he has himself sought out, and to him this act of sexual union does not represent the occupation in which his whole existence exclusively centers.

We see, therefore, that however much we may desire to place the man and the woman on the same platform, to pass the same judgment upon their respective actions, and however lofty the ethical motives which inspire this wish, yet, after all, the attempt is foredoomed to failure. In verity, the burden of misery and disgrace which falls upon the prostitute, whilst the man who makes use of her goes free, should attach to the society which renders possible and indeed inevitable this degradation of the human sexual life. For though we have admitted the existence of a congenital predisposition which makes her profession possible to the prostitute, it is above all economic need, economic coercion, which leads her into the path in which this predisposition will become active.

Let us consider the meaning of the phrase "an increase in the cost of the necessaries of life." The words seem simple enough, but the direct consequence of the fact they represent is that everyone who wishes to remain alive must immediately furnish a larger economic output. It matters not whether this increased output is derived from private income, supplied by work, or paid in the form of deprivation. Positively or negatively, more economic effort is required, either greater effort for the same quantity of commodities, or the same effort for a lesser quantity coupled with the renunciation of a part of that which was previously enjoyed. In

one way or another, the unfavorable balance must be made up. Each one must offer, not simply what he desires to offer and perhaps has on hand; he must offer something society needs and is prepared to pay for; not anything he likes to sell, but something for which there exists an effective economic demand. Now in what way is a woman best able to satisfy an effective economic demand? Let her simultaneously insert two advertisements in the same newspaper, in one asking for paid work of any kind whilst in the other she "seeks the acquaintance of gentlemen"—a euphemism for the offer of her person for sexual utilization. The answers will show which of the two offers represent the service for which there is a more effective economic demand.

Prostitution is a necessity, a regular occupation, an economic livelihood in the capitalist market, a mode of life which millions of women are economically forced to adopt. Are we to be told that the vast army of prostitutes ought to work, that they are able to work? Would all these girls find honorable occupation, enabling them to live worthy human lives, if they only desired it? Let us consider the numbers of the men who are vainly seeking work before we discuss this possibility. Two or three winters ago in Berlin there were thirty thousand men out of work, marching through the streets in melancholy files; in London at the same date the unemployed workmen were five times as numerous. To what sort of work should the fifty thousand prostitutes of Berlin turn their hands? It is quite possible that in more normal and better economic epochs a few of them might find some sort of "honorable" work. In "good" times, manufacturing industry would be able to grasp quite a number of them in its iron embrace—whereupon men's wages would be forced to a yet lower level, and men would be less able even than they are to-day to support a family. Moreover, in the iron embrace of industry the energies of womanhood and of motherhood are ground to powder as irresistibly as they are by prostitution. To the woman who is friendless and in need, the only choice open is thus one of taste—in which way does she prefer to sacrifice her womanhood?

The right of women to independent remunerated labor has been forced from the hands of a reluctant society. The granting of this right was inevitable for reasons we shall have to discuss in detail in the section of this book which deals with the bearing of the woman's movement upon the sexual crisis. Here, where we are concerned solely with an exposition of the necessity of prostitution, we need merely say that society never ceases to demonstrate to women its low esteem for their independent remunerated labor, by starvation rates of pay and by the enormous difficulty even at those rates of finding employment. There is only one way in which a young woman who is hungry and penniless can immediately get bread, and that is by prostitution. The logical outcome of this should be the social protection of prostitution, since it obviously satisfies a social need. It is not because prostitution is more highly remunerated than any other occupation open to women for which there exists an effective economic demand, nor yet because it requires less labor and less effort than any other occupation, that prostitution attracts a socially endangered and sinking womanly material as a candle-flame attracts moths; the chief reason for this attraction lies in the circumstance that the earnings of prostitution are paid immediately in cash, and that this field of earning is open to women whenever they are in need, whereas every other possible occupation must be diligently sought by elaborate and costly means, and the woman must long remain hungry before she can obtain the least reward for her exertions. Prostitution supplies a demand for immediate service, an effective demand for this particular service. It is a well-known economic fact that such a demand creates a supply.

The most horrible feature of our present economic order lies in its lack of the ambulance stations to which we have previously referred. The isolated and friendless human being is left entirely to his own resources. If his energies flag for three days merely, an abyss opens in his path, threatening to engulf him before his hand regains its cunning. No social helping hand is extended to the powerless, no institutions exist for the sustenance of those who

are thus losing their place in the world. It is impossible for private aid to supply this lack; socially organized effort is essential to prevent the immediate shipwreck of human lives when power for the struggle for existence has been impaired by some casual disturbance. In the case of women, this lack of proper social provision for those in temporary economic danger, drives thousands and thousands of victims into a life of prostitution.

CHAPTER XVII

"THE MELANCHOLY TRAVESTY"

Its Victims. Its Dangers. Threefold Corruption of the Man; of the Victim; and of the Social Consciousness. Abyss between the Day-Consciousness and the Night-Consciousness. Enfeeblement of the Sexual Impulse. Misused Nature's Revenge. Sufferings of Men.

The most hateful feature of this "melancholy travesty of real love," as Havelock Ellis calls it, is that a human being should live exclusively in such a fashion, making a specialized profession of the sexual act. The travesty is an outcome of that monomania of civilization which pushes all things to extremes, not excepting the sexual fate of women. Some are to bear children without limit, others are to renounce sexuality without limit, and the women of a third group must endure without limit. Women must be converted into living latrines for the reception of the stored libido of the male. These women have to make their living by giving "pleasure" to innumerable men; their existence is entirely dependent upon the favor of those whom they have to serve. This alone would suffice, even in the absence of other forces working in the same direction, to initiate a movement of that principle in nature which is essentially quiet and passive in character, a movement among women, a woman's movement. In a subsequent chapter it will be necessary to consider from this outlook the hidden but intimate bond that has always existed between the hetairæ, the amazons, and the emancipated women.

The most distressing characteristic in the life of the professional prostitute is the loss of her individual human personality. This loss affects above all her reproductive function: she is unfruitful by deliberate purpose, her reproductive energies being sacrificed

to the service she has to render to men. Such essential sterility, such fruitless expenditure of energy, has at all times been felt to incorporate a tragic destiny, and in mythology we find it continually represented as one of the worst punishments of hell. In the Tartarean symbolism of all religions we read of those who spend eternity digging holes in the earth which are immediately refilled, of Sisyphus rolling a heavy stone to the summit of a hill whence it instantly rolls back to the foot, of the Danaides ever fetching water in a sieve. The misspending of energy, the wasting of force in actions foredoomed to remain fruitless—here is black damnation. It is an instinctive desire in every normal creature that effort should always lead to some permanent result, effect some definite happening in space and time, leave something behind as a proof that it has existed. But the prostitute is ever condemned to the profitless expenditure of energy. In terrible revenge, nature has visited this barren expenditure with the curse of disease.

The corruption worked by prostitution is threefold. The man who avails himself of the prostitute's services is corrupted; the prostitute is herself corrupted; and the social consciousness is corrupted, involved in the devil's circle of contradictions by which the whole process is environed. When considering the problem of our double sexual morality we spoke of the dangerous psychical consequences entailed upon the male who, in the day side and the night side of his double life, endeavors to combine two conflicting modes of perception. Between the men and the women who encounter one another upon the day side of existence the abyss becomes ever greater because in men's association with the women of the night side, the women who do them forced service, their souls have been shaken and obscured, their bodies weakened and rendered refractory to the fulfillment of the unending reproductive purpose of nature.

It is in our erotic life that the interconnection between body and soul is most plainly manifest, and it is precisely here that men are most deeply corrupted by the conditions of their lives. Alto-

gether apart from the actual plagues disseminated by prostitution and altogether apart from the physiological weakness that results from sexual excesses, we have to take into account that remarkable obscuration of the mental side of the sexual impulse, that clouding of the erotic consciousness, which makes it ever more difficult for the sexes really to understand one another and truly to enjoy one another without mutual misuse. A profound disturbance of the centers of the erotic life ensues in men who have habitual recourse to prostitutes. Somewhere in the borderland between the physical and the mental, lives and works that feeling which impels the individual to all the actions that eventuate in the reproduction of the species. It is upon this feeling that the individual life and the life of the species are both in the last instance dependent. It is this feeling which is in prostitution so perversely misused: "The act of prostitution," writes Godfrey,[5] "may be physiologically complete, but it is complete in no other sense. Here are lacking all those moral and intellectual factors which must exist in association with physical desire in order to give rise to the complete mutual attraction of the sexes. All the higher elements of love, admiration, respect, honor, and self-sacrificing surrender, are as foreign to prostitution as they are to the egoistic act of self-abuse. But the chief moral value of the sexual act lies rather in the accompaniments I have named than in the act itself."

Thus the curse of prostitution is visited, not only upon the unhappy women who live by the trade, but upon the men who make use of their services. Preëminently, however, the curse falls where it becomes a matter of universal concern, affecting the conscience of society, the social consciousness. Cruelty, moral hypocrisy, a sordid pharisaism, flow ever from this source as from an inexhaustible poisoned spring. The public conscience comes to terms with itself by pressing on the prostitute with a heavy hand; by surreptitiously begging from her pleasure and enjoyment and thereafter thrusting her with a curse into the abyss. Meanwhile, almost as if in mockery, all honor is paid to the favored sister

[5] *The Science of Sex.*

of the prostitute, to the woman who is safely married. Morality here turns in a double circle of absurdity, like a mad monkey chasing its own tail. "It is an experience only too familiar that men often have resource to prostitutes to find relief from the excitement into which they have been thrown in association with their betrothed. Inasmuch as the mental and physical excitement resulting from intimate caresses which do not culminate in sexual gratification is often just as great in women as in men, the woman in such a case would have equal justification in seeking sexual satisfaction from another man—thus closing the circle of unwholesome absurdity."[6] The betrothed maiden physically capable of satisfying her lover and herself, is forbidden to do so and is honored for her abstinence. The prostitute would prefer not to satisfy the man, nor can she do it to the full; yet she is constrained to the act and despised for the part she plays in it. The man longs for satisfaction in the person of one woman and renounces it; he seeks satisfaction with another and reviles her because she provides it. Climax upon climax of absurdity! Robert Hessen describes prostitutes as "women who mount guard to protect honorable bourgeois girls. The members of this guard," he continues, "are denounced, spied upon, persecuted, liable to summary arrest at the hands of an arbitrary police, regulated, miscalled, debased, driven from pillar to post without right of domicile, delivered over to be preyed upon by blood-sucking procuresses, and forced into the arms of souteneurs." Of the moral code which has such results the same writer says, "Christ himself would recoil from it with loathing."[7]

In this question public sentiment is under the dominion of a lying moral hypocrisy. Hessen says very truly that instead of taking extra-conjugal intercourse into the purview of enlightened hygiene, all that our corrupted morality has succeeded in doing is to approximate to prostitution all those forms of sexual relationship which are not under the ægis of legal marriage. The higher

[6] Havelock Ellis.

[7] Robert Hessen, *Reinlichkeit oder Sittlichkeit.*

this morality exalts the secure married woman, the more deeply does the same morality debase that other feminine personality, condemned to permanent sterility, thrusting her down into the abyss to which a once sacred act has conducted her. But nature revenges herself and tricks the old strumpet—for such this accepted moral hypocrisy really is. The more the "honorable" old woman wishes to keep up the pretense that that which smells to heaven does not really exist, the more she endeavors to conceal it by moral chicanery, the more plainly, nevertheless, is she forced to take it into account. I cannot do better here than quote once more the plain language of Robert Hessen: "The syphilis which in your own honorable family corrodes your grandson's teeth, softens his bones, and indurates his glands, and which rots off the hair of your adolescent sons, the poisonous discharge which whitens your married daughter's cheeks, overwhelms her with lassitude, and racks her with internal pain—all, all are derived from the one great contaminated source to whose cleansing you, alas, refuse to turn your hand."[8]

* * * * * * *

The man also suffers from this travesty. One of refined sensibilities experiences profound humiliation in availing himself of the services of the prostitute, for this indulgence has long ceased to constitute for him an orgy of pleasure. Intense depression, and even despair, often attend the necessity forced upon him to avail himself of the travesty of love in place of love itself. This problem is admirably treated in a short story by Hugo Salus, to be found in his volume entitled *Novellen des Lyrickers*. He describes a young man, in a mood verging on the impulse to self-destruction, wandering about the streets of Prague tormented by memories of the previous night, in which he has had his first experience with "woman." As he stands in the Place he looks up at the old apostle-clock as the hour strikes. The apostles march out, the death's head upon the clock opens its jaws; a swallow flies in

[8] "Monogamic societies present a decent visage and a hideous rear."—George Meredith, THE RAJAH IN LONDON, in Chap. V of *One of Our Conquerors*.

through the gaping mouth, which closes with a snap and imprisons the bird. Hereupon the young man swears that his choice between life and death shall depend upon whether, when the next hour strikes, and the mouth of the death's head reopens, the swallow shall fly out uninjured. At the close of the hour the bird issues unharmed, and the young man goes on his way praising God for his wisdom, for had God been less wise—there would have been one perjurer the more in the world. Notwithstanding the light tone taken by the conclusion of this story it illustrates very clearly how much a man may suffer through having no other outlet than prostitution for his natural desires, how hateful it is to him to make use of a detested instrument for the satisfaction of an uncontrollable impulse, instead of being able to clasp in his arms a creature at once loving and beloved.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ECONOMIC BASIS

Boundary between Prostitution and Free Love. The Maintenance of the Woman by the Man Is Neither Unnatural nor Antisocial. In the Free Intimacy, the Money Question Is Usually Left Entirely to Chance. Attitude Toward This Matter in France and Germany respectively. German "Idealism." An Economic Order in which the Wife and the Mother Will Be Socially Endowed, as a Substitute for the Maintenance of the Wife by the Husband. Metaphysical Idea of "Compensating" a Woman for the Surrender of Her Person. Of the Two Sexual Partners, the Woman Is the One Especially Endangered by Love, Alike Biologically, Economically and Morally.

The distinction between prostitution and free love is very generally regarded as an artificial one. The confusion between the two appears to depend upon the economic basis of both states, for the economic basis of a free erotic relationship may give it such a color as to lead many observers to regard it as equivalent to prostitution. We are told that when a woman who has given herself to a man for love goes on to accept material aid from him, her position is tantamount to that of a prostitute. I regard such a view as false, unnatural, and hypocritical, but it is so widely prevalent that in connection with our discussion of prostitution a detailed consideration of what may be termed the economic basis of love becomes essential.

Who, we ask, ought to maintain the woman except the man with whom she lives? Society, recognizing that the well-being of the species is imperiled by the demand that a woman by her unaided exertions should maintain herself and her offspring, imposes upon the husband the duty of maintaining his wife, and this is one of the main purposes of legal marriage. The critics of the free union

appear to imagine that such unions ought to be distinguished from legal marriages by the renunciation of their most reasonable consequence, the maintenance of the woman and child by the man. Thus only, it is said, can the free union escape the stigma of prostitution. But we have seen that the criterion of prostitution is not found in a woman's acceptance of maintenance from the man with whom she lives, but in the purely professional practice of sexual intercourse with a number of men with none of whom has she any other personal relationship whatever. It is from these professional characteristics of prostitution that are derived the particular consequences which are in truth the main cause of its moral defamation—the venereal diseases.

Moreover, in prostitution the partners to the sexual act have no sentiment of love or even sympathy, for to both their intercourse is a mere commercial transaction. One of the two gives money, and the other in return furnishes the use of her body. But when, in a free love-intimacy, the woman is maintained by the man, herein is nothing which we are entitled to regard as unnatural, unsocial, or immoral. Are we to expect the woman in a free union to be dowered with inherited wealth, or must she have the capacity or good luck which will enable her to provide for herself by her own exertions? As regards self-maintenance, it is well to repeat that few satisfactory ways of earning a living are as yet open to women. All that is commonly available is some sort of unskilled corvée whose acceptance involves loss of all that is best in womanliness. One of the principal arguments against the competition of women in any kind of remunerated work is the invariable cry that it is not woman's "vocation" thus to struggle for her existence. Her vocation, we are told, is to live with a man; so and not otherwise does nature will.

Far removed as we ourselves are from the outlook of those who see woman's sole vocation in her erotic life, who think that she should accept blindly all the consequences of that life, and who wish to exclude her from every other possible field of useful activity, we yet regard it as altogether indisputable that the

erotic life of women, quite apart from its consequences in the form of motherhood, invariably demands of her a greater expenditure of energy than, *mutatis mutandis,* is demanded from a man. Owing to this higher expenditure of emotional force, and owing in addition to the pressure of the circumstantial duties entailed by her life with a man, a woman has to devote a considerable proportion of time and energy to the task of keeping herself attractive and desirable. Christian von Ehrenfels writes: "The woman's movement now demands economic emancipation, not for the sexless woman alone, but also for the mother and her children. It is, however, necessary to go a step farther still. The endowment of motherhood is not sufficient. It must further be recognized that the work done by a woman as a man's beloved, as manager of a household, and as presiding genius over the esthetic side of life, is a specific and indispensable womanly function, in whose performance the economically emancipated woman must also be supported by the man." Although I must expressly insist that a woman who does not need such help is better off than one who does need it, and that a woman should if possible avoid accepting this support from any individual man, yet I am in perfect agreement with the view that one who is a serf in the feminine labor-market cannot be a man's beloved in any full and satisfactory sense of the word. She only who is emancipated from this corvée can find time, energy, and capacity to cultivate her mental and physical personality and to attend to her circumstantial environment; she only, properly speaking, can be a man's beloved. Hence, whenever necessary, man's higher economic potency must help woman and himself to attain this possibility.

In extra-conjugal sexual relationships, this material side of the question is apt to be left altogether in the air. The idea that a cultivated woman demeans herself by accepting material help from a man is peculiarly current in Germany, where a sense of shame in this regard is deliberately implanted in women by education. How artificial is the sentiment becomes apparent when we recall that as soon as a woman is legally married she has no

longer the smallest reluctance in accepting money from a man, and asks for it whenever she wants it without a shadow of shame. The maintenance of the married woman is considered self-evident, and her right to dip her fingers in her husband's purse is limited only by the capacity of this article, whereas in the case of free lovers the economic basis of the relationship is always felt to be a very delicate matter. In marriage, indeed, there is usually a definite understanding about economic details, whereas between free lovers the point is left in a haze.

Yet the economic question is always inseparable from life, and to ignore it in this way in the free union involves serious psychological reactions. If the man incurs no material obligations towards the woman, his love sentiments are influenced by the consequent suggestion of complete independence, and the feeling of freedom from all bonds modifies the very processes of the emotional life. When there is no economic partnership, the entire relationship becomes dependent upon erotic moods. Moreover, as we have insisted in an earlier chapter, to the peculiarly suggestible emotional temperament of the male, a woman seems of greater value in proportion to the amount he has "invested" in her. Again, though a man's sense of honor and chivalry has little influence upon his conduct in spheres of action where he is freed from the pressure of social conventions, he has a peculiar sense of honor by which his actions are largely directed. When a civilized man feels that a woman's economic existence depends upon him, he will treat her far more protectively and considerately than when her relationship to him has remained solely on the erotic plane. The more he has had to care for her and to provide for her, the less apt will he be to leave her in the lurch; the less, on the other hand, she has made a direct claim on his purse and on his exertions, the more readily will he abandon her. A man's sense of responsibility towards a woman is, in fact, far greater if he has to maintain her than if she gives herself to him without making any kind of material claim. In this matter the ascetic mood is once again operative. If the woman represents to his mind a simple enjoyment, a man will

be bound far less firmly than if she also appear in the light of a duty, if her dependence upon him make an appeal to his moral sense, for this binds the cultivated man far more firmly than any feeling of benefits received in the form of enjoyment. Women of a sly and speculative type are well aware of this and will often make a claim upon a man simply in order to maintain a hold upon him. Thus arises the remarkable phenomenon that "kept women," even if of very dubious quality, nay even if radically bad, almost invariably find truer, more attached and more constant lovers than do women who refuse to accept any kind of material aid from the men they love. It is a matter of every-day experience that women of independent mind are far more likely to be abandoned.

In the lands where Germanic civilization predominates, women of a fine type, influenced by current prejudice, actually prefer to suffer want rather than accept help from the men they love. This is altogether wrong-headed. Besides, the man's material assistance in such relationships is requisite for a reason additional to those previously stated. Every erotic companionship inspires a woman with a desire for a better environment, for finer clothes, for all that is necessary for the care and adornment of the feminine personality. These things, indeed, become a definite need for a woman as soon as a man enters her life. It would be tragical were it otherwise, if more extensive æsthetic demands failed to arise as the outcome of such a relationship. If the pressure of the economic side of life were to increase to such an extent that women like men to-day were to find that they had no more time for the hours of love, then indeed should we have seen the end of any deliberate cult of beauty. For these reasons, when the relationship is a close one, and of that intimate character which is possible only if the union is enduring, when the expenditure of money is kept within limits reasonably correspondent with the man's means, and presupposing, of course, that the woman really needs the man's pecuniary assistance, it is right, proper, and thoroughly

natural for the man to support the woman, and thus to enable her to devote herself to the cult of beauty.

The Frenchman, in this matter, has always held that in an intimate love-relationship the woman's material position must be a matter of concern to the man. In the case of the German, on the other hand, his "idealism" is affronted if the economic question enters into his love-relationship.

It is self-evident that if the woman is as well off as the man or richer than he, she will not need his economic aid. Even if less well-to-do, she need take nothing from him if she has a sufficiency of her own. But in the countries dominated by German idealism man's respect for a woman in this regard is carried so far that if a German pair of lovers belonging to a bourgeois circle spend the evening together, the man will not infrequently allow the woman to pay for the half even of the cheese they have consumed in common. If for once in a way, purely from an experimental interest, she leaves him to pay for her share, his beautiful illusion about his beloved will be utterly destroyed, and he will come to regard her as a meretricious wench. In *Simplizissimus* there once appeared a joke on the borderline between the tragic and the grotesque. The picture shows a German pair sitting in a *Gasthaus,* and the man tells us, "I have paid for the Wurscht, I have paid for the Beer—you may draw the Conclusion!" O furor teutonicus!

* * * * * * *

From the evolutionary standpoint the chief reason for imposing upon the male the duty of maintaining the female was the need for the protection of the offspring and for the protection of the wife as guardian of the offspring; this is the foundation of the duplex sexual morality as well as of the institution of marriage. Until the species as a whole, until society at large, undertakes to protect the procreative act in the person of its female partner and her offspring, the artificial protective walls which now surround women will remain indispensable. Until social responsibility in this department is fully recognized, the material maintenance of the

wife by the husband must remain a primary moral demand. To the man, the acceptance of this responsibility becomes a point of honor—when the woman needs this help and it is within the man's competence to furnish it. The moral defamation of the material factor in love is thoroughly wrong-headed, for there is not in this factor, as there is in prostitution, anything either unnatural or anti-social. It is, on the other hand, unnatural and anti-social that women should leave unused their beauty and their youth, their sweetness and charm of body and of mind, and that the possibilities of joy to themselves and to others which attach to these should run to waste. Such qualities of body and of mind furnish women's most natural contribution to social life.

Alike biologically and economically, the male is the stronger of the two partners, and thereon repose the legal provisions by which a man is compelled to maintain his wife. There is a metaphysical as well as a physical substratum for the idea of compensating a woman for her part in the sexual life. The man compensates the woman for the suffering which is usually entailed upon her by her self-surrender, and for the dangers with which, on his account, her emotional life and her entire mental and physical existence are threatened. Another factor in the origination of this notion of compensation is to be found in the fugitive character of woman's erotic possibilities. By taking a woman's love a man "uses a woman up," and this not in a biological sense alone. By nature's decree, he is the user, she the used; and if the instrument is not to be destroyed the user must himself insure its protection with all the means conferred on him by his preponderant stability, his preponderant strength, and his preponderant economic value. Do we then mean to imply that in any far-reaching sense woman is weaker than man? By no means. Regarded as manifestations of the world-energy, woman and man stand at the same level. But the feminine embodiment of the world-energy is more delicately compounded, the feminine principle is more endangered than the masculine by the fulfillment of the natural sexual functions. As soon as woman comes into contact with man, as soon

as the bloom of maidenhood is rubbed off, she is exposed to all the dangers inseparably attaching to her sex.

Hence whatever reforms take place in our sexual life, until these culminate in a social provision for woman as wife and mother it will remain natural and indispensable that the man should maintain the woman. It need hardly be said that we do not wish women to remain in that shameful state of dependence upon men and upon marriage in which they commonly find themselves to-day. To restore the natural competition of courtship it is essential that women should be enabled to obtain the necessaries of life altogether independently of their individual relationships to men. The future will furnish this provision, in part by a reasonable measure of independent and adequately remunerated work for women, in part by the endowment of motherhood, and in part by the social remuneration of all those who are engaged in the upbringing of the coming generation. So long, however, as woman as wage-earner does not stand on an equal footing with man, so long as she is compelled to sacrifice all her womanliness if she attempts to secure the necessaries of life by wage-labor, and so long as there is still lacking any comprehensive scheme of social insurance for all the processes of reproduction—so long also must the man maintain the woman with whom he lives if she has no independent means of subsistence.

If this chain of reasoning be sound, why is it that women incline more and more to renounce the provision and the protection offered by men, to renounce even the most trifling material aid? We can only regard this process as one more unnatural reaction to the unnatural conditions of our sexual life. Faced by the inexorable alternatives of coercive marriage, celibacy, or a life of prostitution, women's self-respect and sense of freedom have been impaired, and thereby also their sentiments in this particular matter have been falsified. A man comes to a woman in her solitude, brings a gleam of sunlight into her dull room, helps her during two or three happy hours to bear the burden of an empty existence—is she to ask for anything more? Far from regarding wom-

an's claim for maintenance in such circumstances as assimilating her to the prostitute, we consider this claim (whether within or without the bonds of legal marriage) as firmly grounded upon the nature of the sexes, and as rendered doubly necessary in consequence of the social dangers that are entailed by its denial. Whenever a woman who really needs support from the man with whom she lives thinks proper to renounce the right to this support, her mind is in a state of unnatural duress, she typifies womanhood starved into submission and forced to the surrender of just self-respect.

CHAPTER XIX

REFORM OF PROSTITUTION

Falsity of the Platonic Campaign against Prostitution. Proposals to Get Rid of the Evil by Means of Ethical Teaching, Vegetarianism, Tracts and Pamphlets, Physical Culture and Family Life. How to Make Prostitution Superfluous. A Conceivable Method. The "Sport of the Martians" reconsidered. "Erotic Friendship" reconsidered. The Reformer as an Intermediary between the Sufferings of the Present and the Star of the Ideal.

The reform of prostitution, to render it less unworthy and dehumanizing than at present, is not wholly impossible. We have learned that in past ages there existed a sacred form of prostitution, and that in Greece and elsewhere prostitution was at times associated with the highest culture of the age. Even in the contemporary world, there are forms of prostitution which lack the degradation characteristics of the institution in western Europe. Thus, Robert Hessen writes of prostitution in Japan: "It is a hygienic institution deliberately designed to minister to the health of a powerful people, of a race which does not prefer the ascetic view of life to the æsthetic. The Japanese imagination has never been corrupted by the morbid ideal of the mortification of the flesh, and therefore retains a healthy joy in nature." In Japan young girls enter brothels on the basis of a free contract, and are not regarded as outcasts from humanity. Since there are legal provisions to safeguard them against excessive exploitation on the part of the brothel-keepers, they are able in a few years to put by a considerable sum of money. They then—and this is the crucial point—abandon a life of prostitution, and commonly marry, "for no social stigma attaches to them." Thus these girls are not condemned to

prostitution for the whole of their lives, nor are they made use of in the utterly bestial manner which is usual in western lands.

Whereas, therefore, in the West it is inevitable that the prostitute should become brutalized, and that she should be expelled from decent society, in Japan it is otherwise. The Japanese hetaira, known as the Geisha, does not lose her freshness, nor does her psyche necessarily become degraded. The European prostitute, even if not subjected to official regulation or confined to a special quarter, does not make any considerable savings, notwithstanding the high fees she sometimes receives, for owing to the hypocritical prohibition of prostitution she is at the mercy of extortioners and blackmailers, and almost all that she gains by the sale of her person is taken from her by the house owner, the procuress, or the souteneur. The more horrible features of procurement, in the form of what has recently become known as the white slave traffic, are in fact the direct outcome of the duplex sexual morality as applied to the prostitute—of the ostensible prohibition of prostitution in conjunction with its toleration beneath the surface of public life. This fosters the army of exploiters who live by and upon the victims of prostitution. The Japanese prostitute cannot be similarly exploited, since her position is openly and legally acknowledged. She earns a better income than her European sister because she is freed from the burdens imposed in Europe by the souteneur and the procuress.

"Japanese prostitutes," writes Hessen, "have time for self-adornment, flirting, singing, and dancing. They chatter to one another on the balconies of their houses, sitting in rows like swallows on a telegraph wire. The whole process exhibits style and grace; there is nothing vulgar about it to offend our taste. The main street of the Yoshiwara, glowing with fairy lanterns, forms every night a leading attraction alike for natives and for foreigners." We have further to remember, as Hessen does well to point out, that the houses of pleasure in Japan are tea houses, and that

in these houses are lacking libations to Bacchus, with their well-known effect upon masculine sexual desire.[9]

A well-marked sentiment of human self-respect is ascribed also to the Parisian grisette. The grisette of the old Quartier Latin is indeed a vanished type, but even of the modern Parisian prostitute Robert Michels reports: "She does not merely demand respectful treatment from her gallant, but insists upon the presence of certain emotional factors as essential preliminaries to the sexual act. That most repulsive species of 'love' in three movements, the sailor-on-leave type of sexual love, which prevails so largely in England, Germany and Italy—accosting, hurrying home, sexual act—is regarded by the women of Paris, if the most debased stratum of prostitution be excepted, as vulgar and low. They will have nothing to do with an altogether unknown man; they demand first some comradely intimacy, they want to know what sort of man he is, and how he spends his life. They make a stringent demand for the preambles of love, and for the possibility of a certain degree of physical sympathy and mental affinity to render capable on their part some faculty of erotic response. For this reason, even in relations with wealthy men, they often fail to reach the top of their market." [10]

Moreover, in contradistinction to the prostitutes of other European capitals, those of Paris often form intimate relationships upon another plane than the sexual. "Many Parisian girls make a sharp

[9] In correspondence with the author, the translators pointed out that this description of Japanese prostitution is based upon the rose-tinted impressions of a casual visitor to the country. The passage also betrays a confusion between the geisha and the professional prostitute. The geisha is a singing girl, who is no more necessarily a prostitute than the actress or chorus girl in Europe. The geishas entertain large parties of men by singing and playing the samisen, and by the grace and charm of their manners. Many, perhaps most of them, are occasional prostitutes, but prostitution is not their regular profession. The Japanese themselves never employ the word geisha to denote the regular inmates of the Yoshiwara. The author tells us that she wishes the account of Japanese prostitution, which is based upon Hessen's article on the subject, to remain as originally penned, but to add that she is now aware that the accuracy of Hessen's delineation is strongly contested by Japanese writers.—TRANSLATORS' NOTE.

[10] Robert Michels, *Sexual Ethics,* English translation, 1914, p. 80.

distinction between the men to whom they are forced to give themselves for professional purposes; and the friends, the *copains,* students for the most part, with whom they associate, share the midday meal in a restaurant, play cards, walk in the Luxembourg, make excursions, but with whom they remain on terms of simple friendship. From these associates they demand comradeship only, and they repay in the same coin. The intercourse between the two is one of social equality, in which the girl's means of livelihood are altogether ignored. She is treated with the respect due to a social equal. Many of these women have also an *amant de cœur,* and it is a point of honor between the two that their relationship should be one of perfect purity."[11]

The writer tells us the life-story of one of these prostitutes. Speaking of her intimacy with the friend of her heart, an artillery officer, with whom her relationship remained on this platonic footing, she said: "To him I give what no other can have from me, my chastity."[12]

Turning now to the United States of America, we learn here of the existence of houses of assignation in which couples can meet and unite without being exploited in any way, whether by compulsion to drink or by immoderate rents; moreover in these houses the hygienic condition of the rooms is said to be all that can be desired.

The unceasing practical denial of the necessity for the hygienic conduct of free sexual association is the most dangerous of all the consequences of the hypocritical mood of our social life. Robert Hessen stigmatizes as "childish, dirty, and pharisaical" the whole system as a result of which "the illegitimate sexual life is treated with ethics instead of with an antiseptic solution." We have here an almost incredible ostrich policy. By the iron hand of authority an absolutely necessary social function is forced into dark and dirty corners, where all its possible evil consequences accumulate at compound interest. We shut our eyes tightly where we should open

[11] Michels, *op. cit.,* pp. 82, 83.
[12] *Op. cit.,* p. 84.

them exceptionally wide; we make use of arbitrary force in a matter in which the most tender and delicate manipulation is requisite; we endeavor to repress prostitution, instead of treating this social phenomenon in accordance with the simple and accepted principles of hygiene. The results are what we see.

The absurdest features of the conventional attitude towards prostitution are perhaps seen in the extraordinary methods sometimes recommended to render prostitution unnecessary. One advocates abstinence from butcher's meat, another extols the peculiar virtues of millet porridge, a third advises teetotalism. The only point in which all these reformers are agreed is that each has a firm faith in his own particular specific. The campaign against alcohol, the practice of out-of-door sports, and the avoidance of a rich and stimulating diet are undoubtedly praiseworthy tendencies of our time; but it is not by such reforms in our mode of life, nor by physical culture, nor by an introduction of lonely young men to "private family life," nor even by the spread of ethical societies, that we shall succeed in imposing the desired control upon the manifestations of the sexual impulse.

Prostitution to-day fulfills a natural need, and it is therefore impossible to conjure it out of existence either by moral influences or by police repression. We can get rid of it only by rendering it no longer necessary. No doubt that is the avowed aim of the advocates of the various methods mentioned above; but surely there is something ridiculous about the attempt to replace a vital need by a substitute which has absolutely no bearing upon the essence and the nature of that need. We find that writers who in other respects are genuinely radical reformers, when they come to handle this particular theme, almost invariably jib at the critical moment; their heart fails them when the time comes to draw the conclusion to which their whole argument has led up. They halt in alarm, hastily murmur a few high-sounding phrases about the demands of morality, social hygiene, humane considerations, a more profound view of the relations of the sexes—and then they run away from the subject. Surely those who lack boldness for an honest attempt

to deal radically with the causes of prostitution might just as well leave the matter alone.

* * * * * * *

A real reform of prostitution is conceivable. The need for sexual enjoyment without elaborate preliminaries or far-reaching consequences will never disappear. Alike in the normal man and in the normal woman, the demands of the sexual impulse are as imperative as those of hunger. But as long as the woman is used as a mere means to the man's end, she will in most cases be misused, and every possibility of true joy will thereby be excluded from the erotic process. The essence of any possible reform of prostitution is to be found in the transfer to the new institution of all the good features of the old, while getting rid of all evil and unclean associations. What good features does prostitution offer men to-day? It renders the satisfaction of sexual need possible without imposing fetters on a man. It provides the possibility for a ready contact with the other sex in a manner which does not, like marriage, involve an upheaval of the entire social existence and which, unlike marriage, can be attained without overcoming a thousand difficulties. On the other hand, the evils attendant upon prostitution are mainly three: first of all the defamation of the woman, who is sacrificed as the means to another's end; secondly, the danger of venereal infection, which largely arises because the woman has no particular interest in protecting from infection the man who misuses her; thirdly, the moral depravation of the man, the woman, and the social consciousness.

In any reform of the free sexual life, we must retain the good and reject the evil. This will be possible only when this free sexual life ceases to be the trade of a special stratum of womankind and becomes a social institution ranking with others that redound to the public good. There must no longer exist a class of women apart, women of a peculiar profession, by which alone they live—and die. The votaries of the free sexual life will consist of all the men and of all the women who live in solitude, but to whom sexual contact is essential. They must meet on equal terms. Mercenary prosti-

tution must give place to the voluntary mutual self-surrender of free human beings.

It is obvious that if this is to be rendered possible it is necessary, not merely that certain social prerequisites should be fulfilled, but above all that the appropriate mental atmosphere should be created. So long as there continues to attach the slightest odium to this process of voluntary self-surrender on the part of a woman for the purpose of easy and unfettering erotic experience, and so long as the woman suffers in consequence the slightest social degradation, the necessary social conditions and the necessary mental atmosphere cannot be said to exist.[13] But when these conditions have been fulfilled, when our minds are so far reformed that we can regard such a state of affairs as enormously superior to the mercantile sexual life, many good results cannot fail to ensue. Above all, the whole caste of prostitution will become almost if not entirely superfluous, and not until it is superfluous can prostitution cease to exist. No longer would the processes of the sexual life so often engulf both men and women in a morass of degradation. If for the urgency of the senses, an urgency no truthful person can deny, there existed an outlet compatible with the normal human sense of self-respect, many a hastily contracted legal union, such as results to-day from the sheer pressure of sexual need, would never take place. Moreover, if both the partners to the sexual act had a common interest in its hygienic conduct, the spread of the venereal diseases would speedily be checked.

Now what are the psychological prerequisites of such a reform? In the second book of this work reference was made to the possibility of erotic friendship. In the fifth book there was a detailed discussion of the idea of the sport of love. It is by conditions deriving from these two psychological possibilities that pros-

[13] An illuminating discussion of this problem will be found in Hubert Wales's novel, *The Yoke*. Unfortunately, however, the book has been withdrawn from circulation, after a prosecution on account of its alleged immoral tendency. Thus in England do we still stifle that free discussion of moral problems out of which alone a truly rational morality can be born.—TRANSLATORS' NOTE.

titution might be rendered superfluous. Some may raise the objection that the idea of sport is too trivial for association with the processes of love. Let such readers call to mind the phenomena of contemporary prostitution, comparing these with what Lasswitz conceives for us of the love-sport of the Martians. Let them consider what a healing influence would be radiated over humanity if there no longer existed a demand for sexual renunciation. Finally let them compare the idea of a perfectly free and voluntary mutual self-surrender, one divested of all taint of pecuniary interest, with the detestable commercial transaction to which, for both sexes, the sexual act is degraded in contemporary prostitution. Those who examine the suggestion honestly, with minds freed from moral hypocrisy and sexual lies, will see that there is no reason whatever for refusing to a mature and civilized humanity this relief from the urgency of sex. Instead of a disgraceful trade bargain, instead of the sale or purchase of a human body for a purely animal utilization, we should have a voluntary self-surrender as the outcome of amity, cordiality, and sympathy. Between this group of sentiments and love there are no sharp limits, there is no great gulf fixed, and in many instances the feelings of those who engaged in this voluntary mutual self-surrender might rise to the higher levels of love.

It is self-evident that an absolute mastery of sexual hygiene and of the methods of preventing procreation are essential preconditions of any such reform. But all social reformers and all hygienists, all at least who are imbued with the modern spirit, unite with one voice in the demand that the consequences of the love-act should be subjected to intelligent and purposive control. They make this demand, not only in respect of marriage, but in respect of every kind of sexual relationship. In the eventualities above considered, not only would the shameful objective fact of prostitution disappear, but, further, those whose loathing of prostitution is too intense to permit them to avail themselves of its opportunities would be freed from the internal torment of compulsory celibacy.

This brings us to a consideration of the attitude of women to-

wards this possibility. We know that women's sexual need is as great as and even greater than that of men. Yet it is altogether inconceivable that women would ever avail themselves of the services of a masculine order of prostitutes—normal women, that is to say, suffering neither from the defect of sexual frigidity nor from the abnormal desires of women of the messalinic type. Woman's comparative weakness may result in her being forced to use her sex simply as a means of livelihood, to become a professional prostitute; but our common humanity revolts against the notion of her male counterpart, such as we meet to-day in close relationship with the female prostitute in the figure of the souteneur. To normal women, even if their sexual misery should become more urgent than it is now, it would be impossible to make use of the services of a male prostitute.

It is, however, far from impossible that a healthy, normal and well-disposed woman should give herself to a friend, each freely choosing the other, in a union in which neither partner incurs any further and increasing responsibilities towards the other. By the simplicity of this process the whole sordid paradox of the duplex sexual morality would be exploded once for all. According to the duplex code, sexual need exists only for the male, and the woman who satisfies this need must be plunged into disgrace and misery. The recognition that the need exists for both sexes would destroy the false foundation of the twofold moral judgment; it would facilitate union for both parties, a union bringing disgrace and misery to neither. Let us make it perfectly clear that what is lacking is precisely the recognition, the frank public recognition, of this mutual need. Free erotic life exists to-day; but being illicit and unrecognized it is stamped with the characteristics of lying, fraud, and exploitation. Because women have no permissible free outlet for their sexual need, they are exposed to misadventures of all kinds—of which marriage may be one of the worst.

Not, however, through the wild erotic intimacy, as carried on to-day behind society's back, threatened by disgrace from without and disruptive catastrophe from within, can we find deliverance

from the need for prostitution. This end can be gained only by means of a reformed erotic intimacy, utterly different from prostitution alike in its internal constitution and in its outward manifestations. We are far from thinking that a woman of refined sensibilities could find gratification in sexual intercourse with a man in the complete absence of any other personal relationship between the pair. All that need be asked is the public recognition of the possibility of such unfettering relationships as those to which allusion has just been made. We do not exclude the prospect that once this possibility has been granted and once this public recognition has been obtained, individual men and women will often form intimate relationships of a non-erotic character, on a plane of purely mental tenderness. As soon as the necessary social conditions are provided, intimate relationships of very various kinds will become possible, and the way would be opened for the development of purely social and comradely intimacies. Such relationships might offer a valuable supplement to ordinary sexual experience; but they are impossible to-day owing to the current social attitude towards all extra-conjugal intimacy between men and women. Such unfettering association, inclusive or exclusive of the ultimate sexual union, would provide opportunities far more extensive than exist to-day for the discovery of the true soul-mate, of the one with whom life will be joined, not in sport but in earnest, and for life's whole duration.

Freer opportunities for sexual experience are even more necessary, perhaps, for women than for men, in order that women may be emancipated from their present subordination to men's erotic caprices. A woman suffers in physical health, and the integrity of her intellectual and emotional life is impaired when it pleases man to induce in her sexual tensions for which she can find no permissible discharge—whereas a man can seek such relief for himself whenever and wherever he pleases. This is a potent factor in producing an unworthy clinging and dependent attitude on a woman's part, even towards a man at whose hands she suffers untold evil. For to her he represents the one and only practical

possibility of relief from sexual isolation, whereas to him the woman is but one among many possibilities. Woman's erotic enfranchisement would go far to restore to her the independence and self-respect she has lost in the modern perversion of courtship. In her behavior towards the male she would become calmer and more self-possessed.

It is obvious that a voluntary erotic self-surrender of the kind here under consideration is conceivable and desirable only in the case of women who are independent in character, self-controlled and fully mature. The union must be one absolutely divested of the internal and external claims characteristic of love to-day. If the network of sexual lies in which women are now enmeshed were cleared away, and if the social conditions were favorable in other respects, a relationship free from mutual claims would be fully conceivable. Neither partner would expect, still less would claim, anything beyond what was freely given as the outcome of mutual sympathy. People would learn to bestow their hearts freely, whenever this free gift brought happiness to the other; but no one would offer more than was desired, as now so often happens when, after the first kiss, one partner immediately forces his whole heart upon the other without asking whether the gift is desired. A higher order of chastity would arise, and only when the relationship entered upon a serious and presumably permanent footing, only if there should ensue that ultimate and sacred union which awaits as a possibility behind every love-act, would each partner offer to the other all the treasures of the individuality.

Yet to-day every sexually eager youth and every amorous *demi-vierge* is rash enough to venture upon this out-pouring of personality. In the sport of love, under the conceived conditions, no more would be bestowed than the kindliness and charm of a well-disposed nature in interaction with another person of sympathetic temperament, and each partner would thus give to the other all that in such a relationship is really required. In all existing erotic relationships a disastrous egoism seems rampant, being equally characteristic of stolen hours of love and of the sentiment of ownership

attendant on legal marriage. In all unions alike the partners' first act is to institute a vast series of claims. We may hope that this shameless inroad upon the privacy of another personality will be finally abolished by the civilized sport of love. It will ultimately come to be regarded as a vestige of barbaric life, transmitted probably by inheritance from our ape-like prehuman ancestors. Thus the sport of love, which may seem trivial at first glance, will be seen to involve a cultivation of the altruistic sense, and to entail moral consequences of primary importance.

Two explanations are perhaps requisite to avoid the possibility of misunderstanding. The reformed modes of love we have been considering will become practically possible only under the reformed mental conditions of the future. As things are to-day, a woman must rather be advised to accept resignation and to endure celibacy than to risk the loss of self-respect in unavailing conflict with the world. The author is writing, not *pro domo,* but *pro futuro.* Secondly, it may be pointed out that the demand that in the sport of love there must be complete exclusion of economic considerations (since by this means alone can the sport be freed from all taint of prostitution) is nowise inconsistent with the views of the economic basis of sexual unions expounded in an earlier section. The fusion of economic interests is not desirable unless a permanent sexual union is in contemplation.

* * * * * * *

Our sexual order, our sexual laws and sexual morality, take account of nothing but extremes: recognizing on the one hand pure ideals and visionary altitudes, and on the other the desert of nonexistence, the weary void of complete renunciation. In actual experience, however, human nature and human needs enforce the adoption of some position intermediate between these two poles. Effective reform must deal with the middle principles of practical application, steering its course between the Scylla of the unattainable ideal and the Charybdis of anarchic chaos. While avoiding the chaos of unsolved problems and unfulfilled needs, no practicable proposal for reform can hold out a promise of uniform

and ideal happiness. But reform can intermediate, intermediate between the unattained and unattainable star of the ideal which shines ever on the path of advancing humanity, and the weary waste of the conditions wherein we live and strive to-day. A bridge-builder, an intermediary—such is the reformer, whose heart is ever torn by the characteristic miseries of his time, who suffers in his own person for the good of humanity.

BOOK VII

SEXUAL NEED AND THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

"It seems very strange to me that women should seek new duties for themselves. . . ."

"Duties are associated with rights; they provide money, power, and honor, and it is for these things that women strive."

He understood everything when he saw in Kitty's heart the dread of despised old-maidenhood and he dropped the subject.

TOLSTOI, ANNA KARENINA.

CHAPTER XX

ORIGIN AND NECESSITY OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

Necessity of Remunerated Work for Women To-day. Difficulty of Providing a Dowry and Consequent Difficulty of Marriage. Statistical Data. Technical Advances Tending to Lighten Domestic Work. Need for the Extension of Communal Activity in the Upbringing of Children. The Eugenic Problem. The Woman's Movement Necessitates an Amplified Classification of Feminine Types. Motherhood Must Be Possible for Every Healthy Woman and Independent Remunerated Work Must Be Open to All. Such Work a Necessary Transitional Phase on the Way to Sexual Enfranchisement. The Sexual Bond-slavery of To-day. Emancipation: Economic, Spiritual and Sexual.

THE facts known to us about the origin of marriage suffice to prove that the institution developed out of religious hetairism. In the dawn of Greek history, indeed, a permanent conjugal union was regarded as "a deviation from the natural laws of matter"[1] and women living in such unions were sometimes forced into tran-

[1] Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht.*

sient ceremonial hetairist practices. We have seen that the transition from religious prostitution to marriage was bridged by the institution of the dowry—a dowry earned by the priestesses of Venus. But with the degradation of hetairism this way of earning a dowry was discountenanced, and it became essential that girls should be dowered by their families. For it has been generally held to be impossible for the husband, by his unaided exertions, to provide for the wife, for the children, and for the expenses of setting up house. Some contribution by the wife has consciously or unconsciously been considered an indispensable prerequisite to procreation. Throughout human history, as a supplement to or substitute for the dowry, the joint labor of the wife has been an economic factor of primary importance in the up-keep of the household, although thousands of years had to elapse before there was even the most grudging admission that the wife's labors in the house, in the fields, and elsewhere, are in any sense an economic and social counterpoise to the labors of the husband. Such labors have always been demanded from the wife, but their recognition as an economic factor dates only from our own time, and the true estimation of their value in terms of current exchange and their material compensation on this basis are reserved for the future, for there can be no doubt that in the future the social value of woman's functions as wife, mother, and housewife will have to be definitely appraised and remunerated.

This will be a development of the more rational organization of to-morrow. But to-day it becomes ever more impossible to provide the husband with the help he needs by the method of the dowry, since fathers are less and less able to spare anything for the establishment of their daughters in marriage. More slowly than ever before do men attain a degree of economic independence rendering marriage practically possible. Hence, under the economic possibilities of our time the increasing importance of women's independently remunerated work as a means of contributing to the maintenance of the family—work supplementary to or replacing women's ordinary domestic occupation.

Those who object to independent remunerated work for women assure us that motherhood is woman's true vocation. But in the absence of social provision for the fulfillment of this vocation, and if women are cut off from independent work, those only can fulfill the vocation of motherhood whose husbands can provide for the entire maintenance of the family. There are few such men to-day, and their number ever diminishes. How can a woman be reasonably expected to stake her existence on a vocation of whose possibility she is afforded no guarantees? It is true that the attainment of fitness for other occupations depends upon the fulfillment of certain conditions, but the fulfillment of these conditions is within the sphere of the individual will and depends on the individual's own capacities, so that the power to fulfill them is calculable. Altogether incalculable on the other hand are the chances of winning the great prize—for as such we must regard happy marriage and motherhood—if it is to depend upon maintenance by the husband, and if it is to be won without any shameful compromises affecting the essence of love and thus imperiling the welfare of the species.

A study of statistical data shows with how little justification women can count on attaining this haven of conjugal maintenance. From the German census of the year 1895 we learn that of the entire unmarried feminine population of marriageable age, sixty-seven per cent, more than two-thirds, were working for a living. If we narrow the limits of the marriageable age to the three middle decades of life, we find that in Germany more than half the women between twenty and fifty are unmarried. From the age of twenty to the age of thirty, fifty-seven and a half per cent are dependent upon their own exertions. Of women between thirty and forty, indeed, seventy-seven and a quarter per cent are provided for by marriage; but during the succeeding decade, from the age of forty to the age of fifty, owing to the increasing prevalence of widowhood, the percentage of women unprovided for rises by a full fourth. From the age of fifty upwards we find once more that more than half of all women are dependent upon their own exer-

tions. Even in the case of married women between the ages of thirty to fifty, the provision furnished by marriage is so often inadequate that about twenty-five per cent of these have to engage in remunerated work. These figures are taken from an article by Marie Lichnewska, which appeared in *Mutterschutz* in 1907. "No man," continues this writer, "can be reproached for speculating on the possibility of receiving a dowry with his wife, for whether he be judge or policeman, commissioned or non-commissioned officer, school-master, physician or man of business, he knows he will have to face the most serious deprivations if the woman he marries is altogether without property. Only recently has it been clearly recognized that one human being is unable to maintain four or five others." But the man, forced by economic necessity to remain wifeless, childless and homeless, is the product of a social malevolution which strikes at the root of the well-being of our race.

There are two important departments of social life which hitherto, in the family economy, have been dealt with by rule of thumb and therefore inadequately. I refer to the provision and preparation of food and to the education of children. With the institution of social control, a far higher level of efficiency will be attained in both these departments. In matters of dietetics we still grope in the dark; the individual housewife, in her own kitchen, is incompetent to solve the problem, and the profit-making restaurant-keeper has no interest in its solution. Hardly less haphazard, in many respects, is the practice of education. We shall not see the end of this dilettantism until the community intervenes, deliberately and purposively, inspired by one sole interest, the general welfare. Society must take charge, beginning with the proper care of infancy, supervising the general education on the widest humanistic lines, and controlling also secondary education, the specialized training necessary to fit citizens for their life-occupations as adults. Sooner or later private parental activity must be supplemented or replaced by communal activity. It becomes more and more abundantly clear that no private individual is competent to supply all the factors necessary for the best upbringing of the child. Hence,

in most cases, essentials are lacking because individuals cannot provide them. Our families swarm with children whose upbringing is defective or erroneous. It is the right and the duty of the community to intervene, for the child belongs to the community as well as to the individual parent.

If a new social order is to be created we must effect a harmonious compromise between the rights and duties of the individual and the rights and duties of the community. Thus alone will the economic misuse of valuable human energies be brought to an end, and this is true above all as regards the energies of women. It is uneconomic for a hundred housewives at a hundred separate kitchen fires to prepare a meal for a hundred separate families; it is uneconomic for a whole individual human life to be devoted to the unorganized and unsystematic rearing of the young; it is uneconomic that, to enable her to bring up her children by rule of thumb, a woman should be deprived of all chance of strengthening her individuality and widening her culture and should thus be robbed of her best possibilities of doing good work for her children. From a society reformed in the socialist sense we may confidently expect such improvements in the family economy and in educational life as will render unnecessary the dreadful sacrifice now demanded from the woman who has to support herself by her own exertions—the sacrifice involved in the renunciation of motherhood.

We may here consider a matter often overlooked, namely, that members of the older, less active, but more experienced generation are specially equipped to furnish help in the upbringing of the young, to furnish help to those members of the younger generation actively engaged in the work of procreation or more strenuously involved in the struggle for existence. Thus energies that might otherwise rust from disuse may find active and useful employment. (So far as I am aware, but one writer of note has made a suggestion of this kind, Schopenhauer, in his essay on Tetragamy, a somewhat rough-hewn proposal for sexual reform. He suggests that the older woman, the first beloved of a pair of men, should

assist the second beloved of this same pair in the upbringing of the children.) People cannot, they should not, wait to begin the work of procreation until they have gained a victory in the struggle for existence. Yet while actively engaged in this struggle it is impossible for them to give proper attention to the thousand and one needs of the young. Hence help in the upbringing of children should be given by those who have completed their term of economic service and by those who are not yet old enough to indue the economic harness.

When we demand that the upbringing of children should become more largely than at present a matter of communal concern, the objection may be raised that the mother is the best person to bring up her own child. Yet no unconditional assent can be given to this proposition. It is not merely the thoughtless woman who is unsuited for such duties: women in other respects of high quality may be quite inapt in this particular connection. Others, again, while well fitted to guide their children in the mental sphere, to train the development of the intellectual, the emotional, and the voluntary life, are far from competent to give due attention to that material side of a child's existence which is a no less essential part of its upbringing.

Here the thoughtful eugenist may inquire whether women unfitted for the education of children should engage in the work of education at all, whether it would not be better that their type should be eliminated. But why should this be necessary? Such women may be endowed with admirable qualities which they are able to transmit to their offspring by inheritance, and this is the most important matter of all—the hereditary equipment which children receive through the germ-plasm. It is of the first importance that a woman mentally independent and possessed of a good physique should give children to the world; whether thereafter she should care for them herself, should seek the help of other individuals, or should entrust them to the community, is a consideration altogether secondary. To a child it matters little who washes the baby linen, who hears the lessons, and who prepares

the meals—provided, of course, that these elementary needs receive proper attention whether at the mother's hands or at those of another. The most essential question is, who has fathered the child and of what mother it is born.

Thus it must be a first aim of the woman's movement, in cooperation with the eugenic movement, to facilitate the reproductive activity of "fit" women, of women intellectually and morally independent. Even if remunerated work on the part of such women interferes with their personal services to their children (a result neither invariable nor necessary), it is essential that they should become mothers. It is far more important to children that they should inherit a self-contained, strong, and healthy individuality, than that their mother should herself be always on hand to attend to their elementary needs.

Too little attention has hitherto been paid to the requirement that the future generation should be the offspring of the union of intellectually well-dowered women with men who are "fit" and fully equipped in the best sense of the words. On the contrary, in present conditions, in which these "new women" are misfits in the old social order, their type is for the most part actually eliminated. In the first place, while well-dowered intellectually, they are not usually rich in this world's goods; in the second place, they do not, like the ordinary stay-at-home girl, seek marriage blindly as an end in itself, regardless of preferential choice; and in the third place, being as a rule working women and likely to forfeit position and income if they become wives and mothers, they are often forced to remain single. All these factors have an antiselective influence and operate to the detriment of eugenic progress, for in the interest of the uplifting of the general intellectual level of the race it is eminently desirable that such women in especial, in so far as they are also physically healthy, should procreate their kind. Experience shows that it does not suffice for eugenic progress that the father alone should be intellectually well dowered. The offspring of great men are apt to be altogether inferior to their immediate progenitors in intellectual force and vital energy. It is

essential that the maternal elements in procreation should be on a level as high, or nearly as high, as the paternal. Robert Müller writes: "It is well-known that the offspring of men of genius are often persons of no account. It is obvious that this must depend upon the fact that the wives of these men have in brain-development been altogether inferior to the husbands. The inferior intellectual equipment of the sons of distinguished men must thus be regarded as a reversionary phenomenon."[2] In the case of men of note, as we learn from their biographies, talent, genius and faculty are most often inherited from the mother.

It is not society alone that finds it difficult to place such women; the individual man of our day "does not know what to make of them." When the time comes for him to play his part in the work of reproduction, he will seek out the well-dowered daughter of a family in good circumstances; for the purposes of "love," he avails himself of the possibilities of prostitution and the liaison—but the new woman is beyond the range of his understanding.

* * * * * * *

The woman's movement will render necessary an amplified classification of feminine types. Hitherto society has been satisfied to arrange its women in three groups: reproductive women who undertake no remunerated work and are economically dependent; working women who maintain themselves by their own exertions and who should be excluded from the work of reproduction; prostitutes. In addition there must be mentioned the class of women who neither work nor reproduce their kind, but as feminine dependents lead a parasitic existence in the bosom of the family. Necessarily, if very gradually, the rise of the woman's movement has led to a revision of this classification. Until recently the social functions of women have been considered exclusively from a sexual outlook, altogether regardless of individual desires and individual needs in other spheres of activity. For one class of women, sex was regarded as constituting in itself an all-satisfying occupation; other women were to be altogether desexualized

[2] Robert Müller, *Sexualbiologie*, p. 329.

and to constitute a class of neuter "workers." This classification differs from that of the bee community in two respects only: the queens are numerous; and between the queens and the neuter workers there exists an intermediate class engaged in the practice of prostitution.

From the first, even at the time when the woman's movement appeared to be concerned only with the struggle for material existence, this movement manifested a powerful tendency, at first largely unconscious and unrecognized, and by many not recognized even to-day, towards a revision of the sexual categories of society. The aims of this tendency are threefold: to enable the reproductive woman to pursue other social activities in addition to the work of reproduction; to enable the working woman to take her share in the work of reproduction; and to render the prostitute superfluous —in the prostitute to liberate the woman.

The leading aim of the woman's movement must be to render motherhood possible to every healthy woman. The sexual need of our daughters (the phrase is Lili Braun's) cries to heaven. They are offered independent remunerated work as a substitute. It is true that neither sexual, nor intellectual, nor spiritual emancipation, is possible without economic emancipation. Moreover, the good results of the urgent need for economic emancipation are partly shown in the diversion of the minds of these daughters of ours from the expectation of a vital destiny which in so many instances is out of their reach. Economic need saves many of them from the disastrous folly of an upbringing which would fit them for a purely vegetative existence. And even apart from the economic pressure which forces women to become independent workers, it cannot be denied that independent work furnishes for women at least a partial relief from their sexual misery. If, then, we feel an instinctive repugnance when we see so many blooming women and girls sitting in offices and anterooms tapping upon typewriters, if we feel that we should much rather see them busied as mothers with the upbringing of their children, or engaged in the cultivation of their minds, if we could wish them to be freed from this bond-

slavery to common and uninteresting work, free to devote themselves to the maintenance and guardianship of all that is best in civilization, to intermediate in the transmission to the next generation of all the highest values of our time—we have nevertheless to admit that such work as is now open to them is at any rate better for our girls than if they were to spend unoccupied and unprofitable years, wearing out their lives in expectation of the destiny for which alone they are supposed to have come into existence and yet a destiny which for so many of them will inevitably remain unfulfilled.

Once more, to sit and write in offices is better than to carry stones, to dig ditches, to work to the death in factories or, for a starvation wage, to stitch, stitch, stitch all day like the tragic figure of *The Song of the Shirt*—in a word, better than the toilsome, debasing and underpaid kinds of work to which alone, until recently, woman has had access, are the quasi-intellectual occupations into which women have of late forced their way. I will even venture to maintain that it is better for a woman thus to provide for her own subsistence in a manner compatible with the preservation of the human self-respect, than to give herself, in an unhappy marriage, as bond-slave to the first comer; it is better, too, for her to earn her living as a typist than to vegetate through life as an old maid of the "cultivated class," better than being burned as an Indian widow, better than enduring in a brothel what Hedwig Dohm speaks of as the helot-service of love.

In a volume published forty years ago, I recently found an argument bearing on this question of woman's independent work. It runs as follows: "If differences in bodily structure were intended to furnish decisive indications as to the suitability of different occupations for the two sexes, assuredly nature would have given some indication of this in the lower animal world. In bodily form, the lioness differs from the lion much as woman differs from man. Has anyone ever heard that the lion feeds the lioness, or that my lady tigress allows herself to be maintained by my lord tiger? Lion and lioness, tiger and tigress, equally savage and

dreadful, pursue their prey; unpityingly male and female alike tear the victim to pieces."[3] Who, we may add, has ever observed in the animal kingdom that the work which provides the better subsistence is reserved for the male, while that which provides the worse is allotted to the female? . . . Returning to the question of maintenance, it is true that when the female among mammals is bearing and suckling the young, and when the female bird is hatching out the eggs, the male undertakes to maintain his mate. But this care is reserved for these periods. When not engaged in the work of reproduction, the female never remains unoccupied in the nest or the lair; as busily and as independently as the male she undertakes the search for food.

Woman's work is necessary as a transitional phase which must be traversed as we pass from the sexual misery of to-day towards that coming sexual enfranchisement which is woman's most essential need. Thus independent work must not be regarded as a mere derivative, serving to distract attention from the ever-present sexual misery; it is, in addition, a means and a pathway to sexual freedom. A first attempt, perhaps, and leading us by a circuitous path; yet all the new fields of work opening to women are none the less intimately associated with the sexual endeavor, the sexual need, and the sexual will, of woman and of society. Not so clearly as it might be is this recognized or understood, and in this case as in others it is perhaps as well that pioneers are not always fully conscious of their own goal.

* * * * * * *

It is not only on economic grounds that the woman's movement is indispensable, not only as the unconscious means for restoring to the work of reproduction those millions of women whose type is being eliminated by the reversed selection of to-day, but in addition for reasons of spiritual emancipation. Those in whose hands is placed an excess of power inevitably deteriorate. By the perversion of courtship men have been given an excess of power, so that

[3] Hedwig Dohm, *Die wissenschaftliche Emancipation der Frau.* Berlin, 1874.

the sexes now face one another with their natural rôles reversed. To find a way out of this perverted situation it is essential that women should secure some means of subsistence independent of their individual experiences with men. Under the pressure of necessity, owing to the disillusionments and deprivations she unceasingly suffers at man's hands, woman is undergoing a new adaptation, and is leaving the sphere of the emotions to enter the sphere of the intelligence. It is no capricious desire of novelty, no spontaneous impulse, which leads women to begin to emancipate themselves from the dominion, hitherto all-powerful, of love-experiences. Without reserve and without backward glance, woman entered this field of love—to find disillusionment, to suffer abandonment, to experience all possible misuse.

Of all varieties of bond-slavery, sexual bond-slavery is by far the worst. The demand for economic freedom is not the prime motive force of the woman's movement. In its orbit, indeed, that movement centers in this idea of economic freedom, as a planet in its orbit revolves around a star; but this latter star itself pursues an orbit around a still greater star. The greater central sun of the whole movement, of the whole system, is the emancipated sex. Around this center, the entire necessary movement is directed, and the stars of economic freedom, of political emancipation, and all the rest, are no more than subsidiary aims, no more than satellite suns.

CHAPTER XXI

OPPOSITION TO THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

Misconceptions of the Need for the Woman's Movement. Its Socially Therapeutic Function, the Historical Conditions of Its Origin, and Its True Line of Future Advance. Views of the Pseudo-scientists of Racial Progress. Views of the Æsthetes. The Mass-movement and the Individual-woman's Movement. Those Emancipated from Sex and Those Emancipated for Sex. The Woman's Movement in Classical Antiquity: Hetairism; Amazonhood. The Old Maid Gives Place to the Bachelor Woman. Motherhood in Women Engaged in Creative Work. The Campaign for Woman's Rights Is a Means for the Attainment of the Rights of Wifehood and Motherhood, and a Necessary Stage in Racial Progress.

The obstacles to the woman's movement are various and manifold. With those that derive from the reaction, with endeavors to suppress all new evolutionary possibilities, we need not concern ourselves. The attitude of the reactionaries is perfectly clear and readily explicable—as clear and as explicable as the attitude of the reformers. A strange phenomenon of our time, however, is the lack of understanding, the lack of sympathy, with the woman's movement, which are exhibited even in the camp of the intellectuals. Not merely do such opponents show themselves unwilling to admit what to the protagonists of the woman's movement appears self-evident, namely, the healing function of that movement in a diseased social organism, but they fail also to recognize the historical conditions in which the movement has originated, to grasp its nature as a necessary historical form, as the third stage in the history of woman's self-defense. Still less, by such opponents, is the future of the woman's movement sympathetically understood, still less is there a grasp of those ultimate tendencies

rooted in the sexual nature of woman, and destined to lead to the final enfranchisement of her sex. The pseudo-scientists, for instance, of racial progress regard the woman's movement as a manifestation of sex war, making woman "averse from man, averse from the child, and averse from motherhood."[4] This fear is based upon a profound misunderstanding. It may be that in the early days of the movement there could be detected a sub-flavor of such a sentiment; but even then it was only in the sense that women were unwilling to stake their whole existence upon a destiny whose attainment was not within the scope of their own unaided powers. The study of poetic literature shows us that persons of a higher type of sensibility have always regarded as a cure woman's absolute dependence upon what she might hope to receive at the hands of man. The mythos of the free woman is found incorporated in the types of the Walkyrie and the Amazon. Wotan's anger against the Walkyrie who has disobeyed him finds expression in the curse:

"The bloom of maidenhood
The maiden shall lose;
A husband shall enjoy
Her womanly favors:
A man and a master
Henceforward obeying,
By the hearth seated spinning,
An object of scorn."

To which she makes answer:

"Am I one to obey
A man and a master?—
No empty boaster
Shall make me his prey!
No nidering he
Who wins me for his bride!"

[4] Robert Hessen, *Neue Rundschau*, July, 1908.

The answer displays the spirit of the free woman. Her destiny, her existence or non-existence, shall not depend upon the will of any boaster, any nidering who may find her asleep. Herein is expressed the true significance of woman's struggle for independence. She is not "averse from man," but averse from the man of inferior type, from the worthless wight to whom she is to be given merely because he passes by while she is bound in slumber:

"To the mountain summit
I banish thee
Defenceless in slumber
There to remain,
Until the man comes to win thee
Who finds thee by the way and awakens
thee."

All that the Walkyrie, the Amazon, consciously defending her womanhood, now asks is that it shall not be any casual passer-by who finds her defenseless in slumber who shall have the power to make her his own. She wishes to be mistress of her own favors; she desires to be guarded by the fire of her own personality, which shall be an impassable barrier to all casual weaklings. The freer a woman is in the disposal of her own sex, the nobler will be the fruit she will bear as a mother. When it once more becomes necessary that men shall be "consecrated heroes" before they can gain the favor of women, we cannot doubt that the offspring of the human race will be of finer quality than to-day, when woman, defenseless, must give herself to any worthless wight, any nidering, who may chance upon her.

* * * * * * *

It is among the intellectuals making up the special group known in Germany by the name of "the æsthetes" that the grossest misunderstanding of the woman's movement prevails. In exemplification, the following passage may be quoted: "For a thousand million years man has been struggling with the hostile powers of

nature. At length, having called to his aid the forces of steam and electricity, the powers of democracy and law, he has succeeded in gaining control over nature. The time has surely arrived in which we may think of devoting ourselves to a new culture of love. When we turn to contemplate woman, do we find that she grasps the magnificence of the present opportunity? To herself and to man she would surely bring more happiness did she make it her first aim to be beautiful and desirable, instead of studying medicine, shooting Russian governors, or clamoring for the suffrage."[5]

Beyond question it is foreign to woman's nature to become completely absorbed in formal studies, to assassinate, or to clamor for the suffrage. It is under the pressure of necessity, not under that of her own inner impulses, that she is forced to undertake inappropriate occupations. The writer just quoted admits that for thousands of years—ever since men have been the sole or the chief owners of property—the process of courtship has been inverted; that throughout this period the females of our species, instead of the males, "have had to deck themselves, to sing, to turn cartwheels." But a time came when the perversion of courtship, despite all these efforts on the part of the human females, could no longer be relied upon to obtain for them a share in the property of the males. For man himself the struggle for bread had become so fierce that, in the first place, the intrinsic force of his erotic impulses was impaired, and, in the second place, he was no longer able, or did not become able while still reasonably young, to maintain the female and the brood by his unaided exertions. It was necessary for woman to do her best to acquire property by her own independent endeavors, and this has led her to engage in activities which may seem inappropriate to her nature. Matters had to proceed to this extreme, the evil had to strike inward to the very root of the tree, it was essential that there should arise a true sexual crisis, if the portentous nature of the trouble were at length to receive full recognition.

[5] Avincenna, in the periodical *März*, second year of issue, No. 11.

We begin, in fact, to understand that the root of the mischief lies in the sexual misery of our time, in the enforced perversion of courtship, in the interference with free choice, in the suspension of the entire process of selection. It was to meet this evil that the woman's movement came into being, as a remedy is found when the need for it is greatest. Counter-poison, if you will, an antidote to an unnatural bane, a weapon for the fight against the sexual boycott imposed upon millions of both sexes by a marriage-system dependent upon capitalism, in the last resort a means towards the economic independence of woman whose maintenance by man has been rendered impossible by other features of capitalist development—such is the woman's movement, in this light alone can the movement be understood.

From the narrow outlook of the æsthetes a fair judgment of the woman's movement is impossible. We can readily understand that for persons of refined æsthetic sensibility, those who would like the phenomena of sexual contrast to persist unchanged, there must be much that is unpleasing about the woman's movement. Especially so when the movement ceases to secure increasing gains of culture for women and for the race, and takes the form of a mere sordid struggle for bread. But it is no longer possible to discuss the woman's movement apart from its relationships with the existing economic and sexual order. We fall into specious error, we expose ourselves to much confusion and misunderstanding, if we attempt to judge what are called the "hard facts" of any social phenomenon without taking into account its historical and economic setting, its relationships past, present, and to come.

"A time has surely arrived in which we may think of devoting ourselves to a new culture of love. When we turn to contemplate woman, do we find that she grasps the magnificence of the present opportunity?" Certainly the time has arrived; the new culture of love is overdue. But it will not suffice to this end that woman should simply "be beautiful," or that she should turn cartwheels to attract the male. For thousands of years, as the critic of the movement admits, woman has done these things, in pursuit of the

culture of love. But since such methods no longer suffice to provide a subsistence, while women are more and more coming to insist upon the right to make free choice of a sexual partner, they must seek new methods of self-maintenance. In the absence of economic freedom, no other freedom is possible.

* * * * * * *

It is a remarkable and interesting phenomenon that *pari passu* with the increase in the inadequacy of the masculine erotic impulse there arises from the members of that modern group we have spoken of as the æsthetes an ever louder and more persistent cry for a woman who shall be merely passive, who shall be content to be nothing more than "a resonator of masculine efforts towards perfection,"[6]—without being presumptuous enough to attempt any such effort on her own account. The decadent male, the degenerate, does not know what to make of the active feminine type, of the woman of independent personality, whose highest manifestations are represented in the myth of the amazons and in the figure of Brünnhilde. To such men the woman's movement seems merely something which leads women to make scarecrows of themselves. If we seek the true source of this plaint of the æsthetes may we not find it not so much in a decline of womanliness as in a deficiency of manliness? Relationships with women of active and independent type are far more difficult, demand a more truly heroic quality, than those with women of a more passive type of femininity.

Behind these attacks on the woman's movement there does not in reality always exist a definite and positive attitude of mind. We must distinguish between arguments employed merely for literary display, and arguments that form a genuine part of the writer's outlook on life. Many of the arguments against the woman's movement belong to the former category; many, indeed, seem the outcome of mere nervous irritability, and therefore do not demand any serious or logical reply. Even women writers give

[6] Karl Scheffler, *Die Frau und die Kunst.*

vent to such anti-feminist froth, sometimes women who are classed as emancipated and bear well-known names.

* * * * * * *

There is one objection made to the woman's movement which deserves serious consideration. It is suggested that, speaking generally, only defective specimens of womanhood have need of the movement at all. Is it not true, we are asked, that those women who *remain* in wage-earning occupations are commonly of inferior quality and belong to less desirable types? And if it were so, would it be any the less necessary that these women also should be cared for in accordance with the principles of our common humanity? The two chief ways in which women can prove their fitness to satisfy men's desires to-day are the way of prostitution and the way of marriage, and the women in question, if equally unfit for both of these occupations, must make their living somehow, "or else they must all be strangled."

In my own view, however, it is not in the personalities of those women who remain permanently exploited in the struggle for bread that the true essence of the woman's movement is incorporated. It is here that the arguments of the æsthetes fail to grip. Behind the woman's movement stands the entire misused sex whose members are demanding elementary human rights. Those whose gaze is fixed upon the particular stratum of exploited women will never understand the woman's movement in its most important aspect of women's endeavor to realize themselves as individual human souls.

Every really living movement for social reform has as its protagonists persons of two sharply contrasted types. The socialist movement brings to the front, on the one hand, the abstinent type of man, the man who limits and curbs his desires; but throws up on the other such a leader as Lassalle, in whose blood surged the need for all the luxuries of the earth. It was for this very reason that Lassalle was a socialist—just as much as, for the opposite reason his antithesis, the man of restrained desires, the potential monk, is a socialist. In like manner, the woman's movement has produced two fundamentally contrasted types: the women

emancipated *from* sex, and the women emancipated *for* sex. However great the opposition between these types, each conditions the other, and both are absolutely essential to the woman's movement, for not until reform movement culminates in the production of such contrasted types can we feel assured that it is deeply rooted among the history-producing factors of its epoch.

In one wing of the woman's movement we see those women who are the horror of men of æsthetic and erotic sensibilities, who, if they do not actually demand emancipation from sex, yet commonly accept such emancipation, and insist that they find in work an adequate substitute for the sexual life! The other wing of the movement is composed of women to whom the most important matter is the enfranchisement of the inner self of the individual woman—an inner self which has its roots in sex. These women who desire emancipation, not from sex but for sex, are, as it were, themselves the very incorporation of sex. But to them also economic freedom seems essential, since without it there can be attained neither internal freedom nor freedom of any other kind.

There has always existed a connection between the spiritual aspects of the woman's movement and those women in whom sex feelings were especially strong. "It is probable that in Athens, in the fourth century B. C., the woman's movement of whose existence the writings of Aristophanes furnish us with obscure intimations was initiated by the hetairæ. The most trustworthy accounts of Aspasia have a close resemblance to the picture that Euripides and Aristophanes give of the woman's movement."[7] In classical times, women's movements, whether historical or mythological, always make their appearance in close association with hetairism—hetairism of a high type, be it well understood, for the hetairæ are not misused and despised prostitutes, but the valued friends of the leading men of their time. We find, further, a hidden connection between free hetairism and amazonhood. Thus Bachofen writes: "Amazonhood is intimately associated with hetairism. These two remarkable manifestations of feminine life

[7] J. Bruns, *Frauenemanzipation in Athen.*

condition one another mutually, and each throws light upon the other.'' The moment arrives, however, in which these two lofty representative types, both rooted in sex, joint initiators of woman's movements, part company. The amazon is transfigured into the type of the woman who desires her existence to be solely self-dependent, motived by her own energies alone. Such a woman will give herself freely, will perhaps throw herself away; but she will never sell herself, never, either within marriage or without, bestow her favor under the direct pressure of economic need.

* * * * * * *

Returning now to our modern anti-feminists and to the objections which from the æsthetic standpoint are raised against the woman's movement, we find in the writings of the æsthetes a most astonishing glorification of the hetaira. They demand that woman should be hetaira and nothing more; and they make this demand without troubling to consider whether the hetaira can find to-day her masculine partner. The suggestion that a fully developed modern woman should be content with the position of a hetaira, or with any other position in which her vital manifestations are to be almost entirely restricted to the sexual sphere, is so preposterous as hardly to need refutation. It is as unreflective, as senseless, as unrelated to the actual facts of life, as is the fury which seizes these same æsthetes at the very idea of reformed dress for women.[8] The æsthete who fulminates against reformed dress forgets that no sculptor has ever attempted the symbolical representation of the ideal grace and charm of woman's body otherwise than in reformed dress—representations of the nude of course excepted. Always we see a garment flowing freely from the shoulders, and adapting itself spontaneously to the curves of the body, and never a corseted figure in jacket, blouse, and skirt. Just as little do critics of the same order take into consideration the fact that the woman who

[8] *Reformed Dress.* The *Reformkleid* movement in Germany is widespread, but differs considerably from its English counterpart, the rational dress movement. The principal aims of the *Reformkleid* are the abolition of the corset and the adoption of a high-waisted dress whose weight depends mainly from the shoulders.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

is to-day contented with the position of "hetaira," "child-wife," or the like, if she does not fall a victim to syphilis or consumption, if she does not suffer the direst straits of poverty, will at best be likely to end as she began, on the level of a dress-maker's model.

It is far from easy to understand what such polemists really want a woman to be. They are concerned chiefly with the negative aspects, with what a woman ought not to be. They are apt to agree in holding that woman should use her intelligence only to stimulate that of the male; she must not have an independent intelligence of her own, must not be, as they phrase it, perverted by intellectualism. She is to be "embodied nature" and as such "the incorporation of harmony." She is to stand beside man "as stimulus and resonator of the masculine impulse towards perfection."[9]

Is there any need to trace the psychological origin of this desire that in matters of the mind women should play a passive part? Is it necessary to throw light on the motives of this attack on the woman's movement? Need we point out how extremely disagreeable to a man of narrow heart and mediocre intelligence must be the association with an independent feminine mentality? Yet such association might lead a man capable of it to harmonize better with nature and to harmonize better with woman. These considerations need not be further pursued, for it would lower the level of our investigation to descend to a polemic of such an order.

To the last detail we are told what woman is and is not, what she ought and ought not to be; and yet each writer wearies us with a different formula, though all display the same anxiety when they contemplate the possibility of a cultivated and intellectual womanhood. Whether, as in the case of the modern savage, a man's primary demand is that woman should come to him as a virgin, or whether, as in the case of the æsthete, his desire is for a feminine resonator, it all comes to the same in the end: "Be nothing more and nothing less than what *I* want you to be."

It is, moreover, fundamentally irrational to make such com-

[9] Karl Scheffler, *Die Frau und die Kunst.*

parisons as are often made between masculine and feminine genius. What really concerns us is, not whether a woman can become a Goethe or a Beethoven, but whether we can enable her to develop to the full her own primal possibilities. Just as little as any variety of human beings can come into existence when the natural conditions are unsuitable for its production, so little also can the appearance of such a variety be prevented when the necessary natural conditions exist. Intellectually independent women constitute a necessary variety just as much as intellectually passive women. Both these types exercise a formative influence, both produce valuable effects, each in its own kind can be creative, each can be a source of inspiration. It is preposterous to assert that intellectual independence in woman necessarily conflicts with the possibility of womanly harmony. Ninon was a woman of intellect, and yet most beautiful and most womanly; on the other hand we often see extremely stupid women who are unwomanly and devoid of sex-feeling.

The modern movement for woman's emancipation has unquestionably produced some very unpleasant figures, such as the women of whom we have spoken as being emancipated *from* sex. Men's dislike of women of such a type is readily comprehensible. But this should not impair the objectivity with which a great social movement deserves to be contemplated in its entirety; it should not interfere with the understanding of its central motive force, and of its intimate associations with the sexual and economic order existing and to come. It is surely obvious that women who as emancipated Megæræ are so unloveable would not become any more charming if they were deprived of independent work and were devoid of mental cultivation. Moreover, in strata of womanhood altogether aloof from the woman's movement do we not encounter feminine types yet more unpleasing? Is not the figure of the misused and brutalized prostitute far more tragically repulsive? Is not the dull stay-at-home daughter whose one aim in life is to get married, and who greets every man with the same sugary simper, far more nauseating? Is not the married woman who plumes her-

self on her position and despises all her sisters who have failed to attain this safe harborage a more unpleasant personality? On the other hand, can a man worthy of the name conceive a higher feminine type than that of the cultivated and emancipated woman who also represents to the full all that is best in the feelings of her sex?[10]

* * * * * * *

It is in connection with the woman's question that the suggestibility of the male is shown with especial plainness. Nearly all the masculine opponents are swayed by the most obvious suggestions, such as that the movement is out of harmony with woman's true nature, but they nearly all fail to recognize that a far more obvious disharmony is involved in the suppression of any wide-spread manifestation of human effort. When the huge demonstration of the English suffragists took place in the year 1908, mockery and scorn were the prevailing notes in Germany. The æsthetizing lemurs, these semi-human beings, who voiced such criticism were devoid of all power of understanding the lofty energies which found expression in this demonstration, one participated in by women of all classes, from the little work-girl to the much fêted tragedienne and the woman of title. Women bound together by the common tie of sex marched through the streets of the capital, to demonstrate, to proclaim with one voice, "here we are, a part of the society which imposes its laws upon us, and since we are subject to these laws we demand a share in their enactment."

To the æsthetes it seems that the vainest, the stupidist, the most futile of all women's efforts is the effort to obtain the vote. This they regard as the climax of desexualization. But what is the practical meaning of this gray, dull and futile vote? The right to the

[10] Some of the truly modern spirits of the Renaissance foreshadowed the honor that will one day be paid without question to intellectual power in woman. One instance will suffice. In his *Eroici furori,* Giordano Bruno writes: "Women may be honored and loved in proportion with their deserts—that is to say, seldom and from time to time. I am referring, of course, to those women whose advantages are sensual merely, and do not speak here of those endowed with intellectual beauty."

vote signifies a right to participate in legislation. But upon legislation depends whether our children attend good schools or bad; whether we have enough hospitals, or whether a mother must wander from one full hospital to another carrying a dying child in her arms; whether we are oppressed by heavy taxation, or have our lives made easier by a good social organization; whether our men of a marriageable age will earn enough to render it possible for them to marry, or whether they will have to slave until they are old and gray before they are able to support wife and child; whether love is possible to us without involving shame and privation for ourselves and our children; whether, if poverty overtakes us, the only refuge open to us as women is to go on the street, or whether there shall exist social institutions to protect us from such a fate; whether motherhood is or is not to be enfranchised. Thus the path leading to the suffrage leads also to the right to love. The vote is an indispensable means for the liberation of the individual, the sex, the class and the species. The campaign for the vote represents the needs of the entire misused sex.

"On behalf of the political rights of women the valid arguments are almost precisely those that have been rightly used on behalf of the political emancipation of the dispossessed classes, of the workers, of the colored races. . . . To woman, the lack of the vote signifies: You shall have no property, no education, no right to your own children; man, the physically stronger, may chastise you; should you become a widow, you will be thrust out like Hagar, you and your helpless children, into the desert of poverty. You shall not earn money for yourself in any occupation in which men fear your competition—thus saith the State. Go and earn money for yourself, orders the same State, the instant the fear arises that as a propertyless widow you may become a burden on the community. . . . Paradoxical as it may seem, it is nevertheless true that it is for lack of the right to vote that women receive less than men for doing the same work. . . . I ask every honest man if he thinks that such laws as our own concerning married women's property, concerning a mother's right in her children, concerning

marriage, divorce, etc., would be even conceivable in a country in which women possessed the vote. Women have to pay taxes like men, and they are responsible before the laws in whose drafting they have had no voice; in a word, they are subject to laws imposed on them by others. In all the languages of the world this is termed tyranny. . . . Like the slave, woman receives whatever her master is kind enough to give her."[11]

* * * * * * *

When they speak of the sexual demands of emancipated women, the anti-feminists also involve themselves in hopeless contradiction. If a woman makes no demands in this province, she is one, they tell us, who "regards her sex as a burden, sexuality as a curse and eroticism as a shameful and bestial coercion."[12] If, on the other hand, a woman desires to take her share of life in the field of love, then she is "animated by the most abandoned hetairist instincts."[13] It is a remarkable fact, that both sexual anæsthesia and the inclination to the most "abandoned" hetairism are found chiefly among the women furthest removed from the woman's movement. It is said by medical authorities that forty per cent of the women who have contracted *marriages de convenance* suffer from lack of enjoyment in sexual intercourse. The most abandoned form of hetairism is found in contemporary prostitution. The woman's movement is equally averse to both these extremes.

It has been asserted that the feminist movement is responsible for the loosening of the ties of affection between women. Yet never before have there existed such possibilities of cordial comradeship and intimate understanding among women. No longer does the married woman regard the unmarried as an old maid, as a tragical caricature of the fateful possibilities she has herself been able to escape. In former days a woman whose sex-life was all denial and delusion, whose whole existence was sterilized, inevitably tended,

[11] Hedwig Dohm, *Der Frauen Natur und Recht,* Berlin, 1876; *Der Jesuitismus im Hausstande,* Berlin, 1873.

[12] Karl Scheffler, *Die Frau und die Kunst.*

[13] *Ibid.*

in the passage from girlhood to womanhood, to become the despised old maid. If she approached the middle of her third decade without any man having asked her in marriage, she was regarded as already becoming "elderly." But since girls have ceased to stake their whole existence upon the chances of marriage, since they have taken to giving free play to their human energies in other fields, giving their lives fullness, movement and stability, they no longer suffer as of old if no man can be found to undertake to provide for them. Unmarried women abound, but these are no longer old maids—they are bachelor women, constituting a new and by no means undesirable social type. Nor does this change result in a loosening of the ties between women, for such bachelor girls often set up house together. Two economically independent women will found a joint home, as the center of a permanent and intimate association, and in many cases they will adopt a child, thus giving proof of an undiminished need for motherhood. Although such an association of two bachelor women is far from providing an adequate substitute for the sexual partnership of man and woman, it cannot be doubted that it is a thousand times better than that adult human beings should be constrained to remain in family environments which they have perhaps long outgrown. It is better also than the terrible isolation which a girl had formerly to expect if she left her family for any other life than that of marriage. This association of independent women, this rescue of their womanhood from the abyss of old maidhood, has been rendered possible by the woman's movement.

What reasonable objection can be made to the free lives of these bachelor women of our day, whether they live singly or in couples? Why refuse to the economically independent young woman the social freedom granted without demur to the economically independent young man? If a woman is out of harmony with her family environment, and if she has no opportunity of a marriage which to her seems worth the sacrifice of her freedom, what objection can there be to her living in her own comfortable dwelling, maintained by her own independent earnings—living

as a free bachelor woman, caring for herself, and rejoicing in her life? Instead of passing the weary years in bitterness of heart as an old maid living in the family of some married relative, playing "aunt" to another woman's children, rejoiced if anyone is good enough to make her a present of a cast-off dress, we find her at home in her self-made, self-pleasing domesticity. Instead of growing old, stiff, and dull, because her life holds not even a past which was worth the living, she remains young and elastic, for she has a present. To a woman to-day it is a disgrace to be "a woman with a past." But what a monstrous fate is that of the woman who has no past at all![14]

* * * * * * *

The question is often mooted whether, if women engage in any sort of creative work, this does not necessarily involve a suppression of the specifically feminine feelings and experiences, a sacrifice, as it were, imposed on her worshipers by a jealous goddess. In deciding upon this question each of us will naturally tend to put most trust in his own experience. I do not myself believe that an atrophy of specific womanly possibilities increases the creative powers; on the contrary, I consider that it is only through the fullest enjoyment of all womanly experiences that a woman will best develop her most individual, most intellectual, and most spiritual qualities. Again and again it has been asked whether womanly experiences and intellectual work are mutually compatible, and collective investigations have even been undertaken to decide the point. To me it seems that a life in which sexual fulfillment is denied is incompatible with fine creative work, at any rate in a healthy woman in whom the instinctive life is normally developed. In exceptional cases of the kind, creative activity may become possible after a fierce struggle, or perhaps when remarkable suffering has made such a woman a seer. But these in-

[14] Of such a woman, an "old maid" of fifty, living with her father of ninety, Victor Hugo writes: "Il y avait dans toute sa personne la stupeur d'une vie finie qui n'a pas commencée."—*Les Miserables,* Part III, Book II, Chap. VIII.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

stances are necessarily rare, for how should one whose womanly destiny confines her to the desert of sexual renunciation find in that void the energy essential to any kind of active work? It is perfectly true that the physical changes incidental to motherhood often lead to extensive disturbances of the creative powers. The interruptions, however, are but temporary. During pregnancy and lactation most of a woman's strength must undoubtedly be devoted to these specific feminine functions, and a wise social economy will take into account the tribute thus paid by women to the species and will discharge its obligations to those who become mothers by providing them with adequate remuneration. But motherhood need be no more than an episode in the long term of a woman's life; and before and after she devotes herself to this function she can find abundant time for other socially useful work. What has once been thoroughly learned is never forgotten, and when the exacting claims which her children at first make upon a mother's time have been satisfied to the full, she will be able to resume, and perhaps with enhanced energy, the activities of earlier days. Until recently the opponents of the woman's movement have been fond of saying that the woman who sought emancipation was animated by the desire to escape the burdens of child-bearing and child-rearing, by the selfish wish "to live her own life." Since the woman's movement in Germany has given birth to the Bund für Mutterschutz [Union for the Protection of Motherhood], and since day by day the woman's movement manifests itself more and more definitely as a motherhood movement, the futility of this accusation requires no demonstration.

The imputation of a desire for childlessness, though inapplicable to the intellectual woman, may be directed with some justice against the intellectual man. Almost all men, indeed, dislike fatherhood in so far as it involves for them the smallest personal discomfort. It is only when the whole mass of suggestions involved in the conception of "family life" take effect upon a man's mind that he becomes inspired to play the father's part. One of fine type will love even his illegitimate children, once he has produced

them; but very rarely indeed does such a man desire them before they exist. He turns his back on love itself directly he fears that love is going to bestow upon him the boon of fatherhood. In his essay upon asceticism, Nietzsche [15] assures us that a married philosopher belongs to the region of comedy. When the birth of his son was announced to him Buddha complained, "Rahula [16] has been born to me; fetters have been rivetted on my limbs." [17] Until quite recently a woman's destiny was absolutely dependent upon her overcoming this masculine dislike to marriage and fatherhood. More and more unworthy, more and more intolerable, grew her position; more and more did she find it essential, either by meretricious arts appealing to his sensual nature or else by bribery in the form of a dowry, to constrain man to fulfill his share in their common destiny.

Motherliness has been characteristic of women endowed with the highest order of creative faculty. Gerhardt and Simon establish this very clearly in their biographies of George Eliot, George Sand, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Marcelline Desbordes-Valmor, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Mary Somerville, Mary Wollstonecraft, Mme. de Staël, Mme. Roland, and many others.[18] All these women were mothers, tender and self-sacrificing, and they all engaged in creative activities, their work being great, profound, and on a high ideal plane. In many intellectual women, moreover, to whom for one reason or another the physical fulfillment of motherhood has been denied, the maternal instinct is highly developed. There is a conflict, in my view, not between intellectual creation and the fulfillment of woman's natural destiny, but between intellectual creation and the non-fulfillment of that destiny. An honest study of this question would involve the asking of women to whom mar-

[15] *Genealogie der Moral.*

[16] A little demon.

[17] "He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune, for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works and of greatest merit for the public have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men."—Bacon, *Of Marriage and Single Life.*—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

[18] *Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit.*

riage and motherhood have been denied to inform us to what extent they believe such non-fulfillment to have impaired their powers. Were perfect frankness in such a matter possible, much light would be thrown on some of the secrets of creative activity.

* * * * * * *

What is the woman's movement, what are its aims? We have to ask these questions afresh, for it is certain that the movement neither is nor aims at what most of its opponents impute. Doubtless woman wants her share of money, power, and respect, and she desires that these good things should be made accessible to her in other ways than through the door of marriage. More than all, however, woman demands the right to dispose freely of her own life, and this right can be secured to her only through the attainment of economic independence. Women seek remunerated employment as a means to an end, the end being material, social, and moral progress. If the-will-to live is to remain active, a human being must have some sort of future prospect, some hope whose fulfillment depends on his own energy and capacity. Until our own day woman was practically without future as an individual, and was expected to rest content in the future she could find in the lives of her children. Yet it is the inalienable right of every human being to have a personal, an individual destiny altogether apart from that which we all share as members of the species.

Thus I regard the struggle for the rights of women as no more than a means to an end, as a pathway to the attainment of the rights of wifehood, the right of a woman to the free self-determination of the whole of her life, including motherhood and love, as a means for the expansion of her individuality, whereby she may become a better human being. Inasmuch as, in her relationships with man, woman will find no freedom unless she be economically enfranchised, economic enfranchisement is indispensable. In sexual choice she must become perfectly free, absolutely independent of economic coercion, and this not merely for the increase of her own possibilities of happiness, but, in addition, to enable her to contribute towards the improvement of the fruit of that racial

process wherein she plays so essential a part.[19] Sex is the ultimate foundation of the woman's movement. Since women were being starved into submission, were being forced into the most shameful dependence upon anyone who could provide them with a morsel of food, they were compelled to organize actively in their own behalf. But the woman's movement, which will free women from their present degrading dependence upon men, is not inspired by any sentiment of revenge, for its general aim is one of redemption. It opens a way towards the redemption of the enchained and misused sexual life of man and woman. Of many means that must cooperate towards this end, the woman's movement is merely the first and the most immediately available. But the ultimate goal is something wider and grander than this means. The goal is the Protection of Motherhood, and as we draw nearer to it the woman's movement will give place to the deliberate and purposive initiative of the community at large.

[19] Writing of the endowment of motherhood, H. G. Wells says (*A Modern Utopia*, p. 189): "It will abolish the hardship of those who do not marry on account of poverty, or who do not dare to have children. The fear that often turns a woman from a beautiful to a mercenary marriage will vanish from life."—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

CHAPTER XXII

THE JUSTIFICATION OF AN ACTIVE LIFE FOR WOMEN

Duty of the "Monads." Art and Sex. Woman's Intuitive Knowledge and Its Utilization in Her Occupation. Need That Women Should Share in All Occupations. Woman's Art as a Reflex of Her Life-experience. Woman's Right to Self-expression.

"The Monad can maintain itself only in a state of restless activity, and whether this activity be of one kind or another, the Monad must never lack occupation." Thus writes Goethe, in his criticism of the Kantian morality. This imperative imposed upon the Monad furnishes a most convincing argument on behalf of the woman's movement. Activity, expenditure of energy, occupation suited to the natural capacities, is not only the duty, but is also the right of every Monad, not excepting women. In contradistinction to the false mysticism of modern times, the mysticism of Goethe has a positive and pantheistic background, and for him activity has a metaphysical and mystical significance. This view of the essential need for activity supplies a justification, not material merely, but also ideal and platonic, for activity on the part of women altogether independent of the exercise of their purely womanly functions (which, in truth, are passive rather than active in character). The activities most suitable for women cannot be determined *a priori* but must be deduced from a study of the actual results of the woman's movement. In each case the ultimate grounds for a decision will be purely individual. This much, however, appears probable, that women generally excel men in the differentiation and the fineness of their sensibilities, in a word, in general spiritual cultivation; whereas they are apt to be inferior to men in technical aptitudes. The distribution of their respective

spheres of activity should correspond, on the whole, to these variations in natural endowment. We should be less inclined to impose upon women than upon men any kind of work which involves specialized skill; whereas, where we are concerned with sifting and distinguishing, with the discovery of natural law by a process of imaginative intuition, it is probable that the man has a real need of woman's aid. A province in which, in the future, women's effective coöperation would seem to be indispensable is that of the reform of our laws, not juridical laws merely, but social and moral laws as well. Masculine morality has proved inadequate. For the necessary reform of moral values women's coöperation is indispensable, the contribution which their exclusive experience is solely competent to furnish. If for this reason alone, men need women's help; and from this outlook the dispute as to which sex is the more intellectually gifted appears utterly idle.

In the one-sided character of the masculine judgment we perhaps find the explanation of masculine strength. Many men of the first rank were by no means among the wisest of their sex, being, rather, men of narrow views, like Bismarck, Napoleon, and Nietzsche. A highly gifted woman, on the other hand, is perhaps less often overwhelmingly great in any one field; we find that she tends to be more synthetic in her general reasoning power, to take more comprehensive views, to draw more forcible and more closely knit deductions, to be endowed with a keener intuitive understanding of the interconnections of things—we find, in a word, that she is *wiser*. Precisely on account of this peculiar endowment, she seems fitted, on the intellectual plane, to complement the work of man. Physiologists have endeavored to explain woman's remarkable capacity for insight into matters that lie under the eyes of all, but which man is apt to ignore or to misunderstand. Burdach showed that "the average head and brain in woman is, indeed, somewhat smaller than in man, and yet in relation to the rest of the body they are greater and heavier than in the male, so that the ratio between the weight of the bones of the skull and that of the whole skeleton is in woman as 1 : 6 and in

man as 1 : 8. The celebrated anatomist Cuvier regarded animals as placed higher or lower in the animal kingdom in accordance with the relationship between the bones of the face and the cranial capacity. Sömmering, reasoning on these lines, tells us that whilst human beings are in this respect more highly placed than other mammals, the human female is more highly placed than the human male. Woman's face is, in fact, proportionally smaller, her cranial capacity proportionally greater." [20]

In view of the suggestibility of the male, a suggestibility that forces itself on our attention whenever we study the intellectual, spiritual, and sensual life of men, we have to ask ourselves what can be the origin of the notion that the members of the male sex have a monopoly of clear and consecutive logical thought. In the field of the sexual life the functional peculiarities of the masculine sexual nature make men far more susceptible to suggestion than women, who in this respect are comparatively passive and quiescent, and therefore more resistant to suggestion. A woman constitutionally fitted for abstract thought will usually pursue that thought to its logical issue more resolutely than a man, although on formal lines and in matters concerning the theory of cognition man is in general the more skillful thinker. It is in the practical work of the understanding that women appear to excel. Especially keen are they in the recognition of sins against pure reason and against sound instinct; they are gifted for the discovery of hidden fallacies and for the resolution of discords. In all these departments, women's comparative independence of the stresses of the sexual function renders their thought-process more trustworthy than that of men. Nietzsche, the self-contradictory, whose judgments upon women were formed for the most part in an obscure ghost-chamber that he fashioned for himself within the recesses of his own soul, attains to a noon-day clearness in his *Fröhliche Wissenschaft* when he writes: "A deep and powerful alto voice suddenly makes clear to us possibilities in which we are ordinarily unwilling to believe. Then all at once we believe that somewhere in

[20] Quoted by Hedwig Dohm, *Der Jesuitismus im Hausstande.* Berlin, 1873.

the world there can exist women with lofty, heroic, and kingly souls, apt and ready for high aims, sublime resolutions, and great accomplishments, apt and ready to rule over men, because in them all that is best in man has triumphed over sex, and has become an incorporated ideal."

* * * * * * *

Every woman of strong personality possesses a share of that primal motherliness which, in the sagas of all nations, was the guardian of wisdom. Again and again, in such sagas, man, wishing to learn something, has to seek council of the mothers, of the Wala. Moreover, as regards woman's own vital experiences, those rooted in the sexual sphere, it is obvious that she herself is alone able to give an account which will be the fruit, not of imagination, but of direct experience, and will therefore be genuinely related to the facts of life. Hence woman must be free to enter every occupation in which, for the very reason of her sex and of the intuitive powers peculiar to her sex, she will be able to develop possibilities hitherto latent. Endowed with these natural intuitive powers, she will grasp the essence of an occupation that has eluded a masculine nature. In all those occupations, moreover, in which there is room for winnowing and discrimination, woman has her place beside man, not in spite of the fact that she reacts differently from him, but for that very reason. Woman knows more—not of what has happened and is happening, but of what must happen. She stands nearer to the veil than man; she is more at one with the mysteries of nature.

Thus from woman, humanity has to learn what woman alone can teach. As at Solon's table the dumb man suddenly began to speak, had to speak, because he alone saw, and he alone could disclose what was happening, so is it with woman. For this reason all paths must lie open to her, her opportunities of adding to the sum of human experiences must never be lost to the race. We can no longer dream of forcing women back into a purely passive life, of compelling them to accept the position of mere instruments of procreation. Still less will a truly progressive civilization, ever

advancing by deliberate intent, permit the mysterious physical and mental energies of womanhood to be misused in exclusive devotion to the vulgar struggle for bread.

There is no question in the world about which women's energies can more properly be employed, no more distinctively sexual question, than the woman's question. There is no question about which women are more deeply concerned, and they can speak more effectively on this subject than any man can speak on their behalf. What women wish and what women need must be learned out of their own mouths, now that these mouths are at last unstopped. "If a man wishes to write about the woman's question," says Hedwig Dohm, "he needs to be endowed with profound and original powers of thought and perception, for in the solution of this question there has to be deciphered a soul-palimpsest which has been over-written for thousands of years in succession and by all the nations of the earth. We must learn to read the original writing on this palimpsest, the primal script of nature herself."

* * * * * * *

Among the occupations which are often in harmony with a woman's "best inner impulses," we have to think of art and of research, for both of which women are especially fitted by very reason of their sex. Is it a mere chance that books by women writers have so often been the most stimulating works of their kind, books which continue to send a trumpet call through the ages? We must not confuse with the mere flashing successes of a season these thought-products which become incorporated into the very social and moral fiber of their time, and in face of which such criticism as that of the æsthetes becomes simply ludicrous. Among books that have exerted such a gigantic influence may be mentioned "Uncle Tom's Cabin," by Harriet Beecher Stowe, which determined Abraham Lincoln's success in the presidential election, and thus led to the abolition of negro slavery in the United States; and "Lay Down Your Arms," by Bertha von Suttner, which gave birth to the international peace movement.

The power of artistic expression is essential to woman for an

adequate representation of her own part in the life of our race, and it is not to men that we owe the most penetrating and most accurate delineations of woman's soul. From the pens of Goethe, Tolstoi, and Ibsen, we have, indeed, magnificent feminine impersonations; yet none but women have been able to give us images of real womanhood, faithful representations of the manifold variations of every-day life. In the letters of Ninon de L'Enclos, of Caroline Schelling, of Mary Wollstonecraft, in the memoirs of Sonia Kovalewsky, there is more genuine psychology of womanhood than in all the women's figures of Goethe's creation. Women alone can tell us, from women alone can we learn, the mother-need, the mother-will, and the mother-struggle.

The woman strong in sex and keen in intuition has cognizance of that and finds expression for that which has never before entered consciousness, has never before found expression. She feels herself to be an instrument in the hands of an all-compelling will, a manifestation of the divine which finds expression through her voice. For her own good and no less for the welfare of the race all opportunities must be given to woman for the cultivation of these secret powers of her personality. It is the ardent women who can and must express themselves in the fields of art and of research. Their antitypes, frigid women, lacking alike the fire of love and the divine flame of inspiration, are inapt also for social and artistic work. All that they do, all that they produce, is colorless, desexualized, and consequently valueless. In art and in research the ardent woman is the receiver and interpreter of intuitions. To her, man comes also, questioning, as aforetime he questioned the oracles, as he questioned the Wala, as Wotan questioned Erda, the primal mother of us all.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE LESS FAVORABLE ASPECTS OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

Woman's Expenditure of Energy upon Sexual Functions Must Never Be Ignored. Freedom of Occupation, but not Enforced Occupation. Exploitation of Women's Working Powers. The Offer of Remunerated Employment Cannot Be Regarded as Affording Even a Partial Substitute for Opportunities for a Full General Life. Maternal Energies Transmuted into Horsepower. The Woman's Movement Historically Necessary as a Stage on the Road to the Motherhood Movement.

The specific womanly functions are not injuriously affected by an active life *per se,* but by the need, under existing social conditions, for earning a livelihood. It is the struggle for economic existence which depresses and degrades. Yet there is no inevitable economic law that human beings shall work to exhaustion. The habitual overwork of to-day is a consequence of the prevailing economic order, and will cease when economic values become enfranchised from the dominion of capitalism, under which men equally with women are ground down by overwork. A normal and reasonable amount of work will do no more harm to a woman than it does to a man, provided always that in whatever occupation a woman may engage, due allowance is made for the energy she has to expend in the performance of her sexual functions. Thus we demand that women should have free choice of occupation, but that they should never be coerced to labor. These demands cannot be fulfilled until motherhood is provided for, not as a charity, but by an adequate and carefully planned system of assurance or endowment on socialist lines.

In the occupations to which women have recently gained access they will suffer far less injury than they suffered in those which

were previously open. These newer occupations demand for the most part some intellectual skill and some technical equipment, and are comparatively well paid, whereas the occupations open to women before the days of the woman's movement mostly involved unskilled physical toil in which the worker's powers were exploited to the uttermost. In our factories, the maternal energies of our women are undermined as in no other occupation. Here, as so often, what is termed the woman's question is a general social question. Gradually, though very slowly, the community is adopting legal measures to impose restrictions upon the hitherto limitless exploitation of the individual. For it becomes ever plainer that only by safeguarding the individual, by protecting the individual from enforced debilitation, can we rescue the procreative energies of our species from the imminence of degeneration. The mother, whose part in procreation is so highly specialized, requires exceptional protection. The recognition of this peculiar need does not involve the view that the female's social share in procreation is less valuable than that of the male, but merely that woman is more endangered by motherhood than man by fatherhood. What is the use of providing "factory crèches,"[21] by special legal enactment, if the blood and milk of the nursing mother continue to suffer deterioration from unwholesome conditions of labor? No doubt such institutions constitute an advance upon leaving infants at home to cry and hunger in lonely dwellings, a condition of things which has been lightheartedly tolerated up to our own day. Even now, the mother is punished for neglect if in her absence from home her child should suffer some accident, although it is by absolute need that she has been forced to work away from home. The alarming increase in infant mortality (attaining in some regions the figure of 200 for every thousand born alive), the widespread unfitness for military service, and other manifestations of degeneration have

[21] A factory crèche is a feeding-room for the infants of women working in the factories. The women can leave their work at suitable intervals to suckle their children. See Engel, *Elements of Child Protection*, p. 137.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

at length convinced the community that this ostrich policy is destroying the very foundations of the life of our race. The evil has been recognized, half-hearted palliatives have been undertaken, but broadly conceived and far more effective measures are essential for the radical cure of the evil.

There are certain strenuous and exhausting occupations of which some women are capable, others not. However desirable it may seem that no occupation should be closed to a woman which she is willing and able to undertake, it is misguided to demand from women in general work that is beyond their powers. In such cases we must deal with the sex as a whole by special legislative provisions. Moreover, we must never forget that no occupation, professional or manual, can afford an adequate substitute for a full general life. Yet it is a common assumption that, in the case of women, work does or should provide such a substitute. In Germany, a recent Minister of Education, promulgating a measure of educational reform, said, in effect: "Instead of marriage, we must give our girls work." Against such an "alternative" women must organize to protect themselves. Those who are still young, those in whom the vigor of the impulsive life has not been completely undermined, will desire to use their working powers, not as a substitute for marriage, but as a means for the attainment of marriage, or of some other form of union which may replace marriage. The bitterness of spirit of a young woman engaged in some soul-destroying occupation, wherein all her womanly energies perish slowly from exhaustion, is indescribable. Indeed every healthy woman, whether she does or does not undertake independent work, must echo the words of the sister of Elektra: "I am a woman, and desire a woman's destiny."

If a woman's work condemn her to celibacy, her work is worthless, for its principal significance should be to facilitate marriage or motherhood. If women's work tends to destroy maternal energies by transmuting these energies into so much horse-power, that work is upon a totally wrong footing. Moreover, the protagonists of the woman's movement must not overlook the biologically in-

evitable temporary debilitation of woman by the diversion of her energies from time to time to the performance of her sexual functions. To ignore sexual differences in this respect is injurious, not in a material sense alone, for at the same time we weaken the force of those profound spiritual motives which inspire the social consciousness and are the safeguards of civilization. When, in case of shipwreck, the captain shouts, "The women first!" what is the underlying significance of this cry? It is the protection of woman's "weakness," the protection, that is to say, of the more fragile being, more precious owing to the character of its connection with the reproduction of the species. Of all the spiritual elements animating the social consciousness, this principle is the most important, and its recognition must never be endangered by any spurious pretense of equality.

* * * * * * *

Where there is no adequate protection of motherhood, nor any legal or customary safeguard enforcing on individual men the obligation to maintain mother and child, few women who are propertyless and dependent upon their own earnings will venture to bring children into the world. It is a mischievous waste of racial energy to impose the economic burden of self-maintenance upon one whose energies are devoted to the laborious task of motherhood. Mother and child must be maintained either by the individual man or by the community at large. In the mother's case such maintenance is requisite for at least so long as the care of the child involves much time and labor. As men are withdrawn from ordinary wage-earning occupations during their term of military service, so women who engage in child-bearing should withdraw from the more individual possibilities of productive activity to devote themselves to the social activity especially characteristic of their sex. The nation that shuts its eyes to the need for special social provision for this emergency is on the way to race suicide. But at present not only do we lack social provision for motherhood, but we lack also the social organization which will provide all human beings with work suitable at once in degree and in kind, and for

these reasons a conflict between individual occupation and motherhood remains inevitable. The society of the future will recognize that of all women's possibilities of work, motherhood is the most important, and it will endow this function in correspondence with its profound social value.

* * * * * * *

In the sequel to this volume we shall have to consider in detail the various movements for the protection of motherhood, for motherhood insurance, and for the endowment of children's education, to which here we can allude only in passing. The German "Bund für Mutterschutz" demands that a premium should be paid to mothers who suckle their own children, and this demand has already been discussed in the Reichstag. The provision of factory crèches and similar institutions is being rendered obligatory by law.[22] A compulsory and universal national system for the insurance of motherhood has been proposed.[23] Such phenomena as these are clear manifestations of the approaching transformation of the sexual order of society, and they are phenomena to which even those most hostile to the notion of sexual reform can no longer remain willfully blind.

* * * * * * *

The woman's movement in its present form, largely concerned about the struggle for bread, is a historically necessary stage on the way to that more advanced development in which many are already beginning to recognize the essence of the movement. Woman did not wish to remain a child-bearer only; a livelihood was not always secured to her in the fulfillment of the child-bearing function: hence the struggle for material independence. This once attained, the next step became no less inevitable, a demand that child-bearing should be freed, that a woman should not be compelled to bear children to one upon whom she remains economically

[22] One of the earliest examples of "state interference" in such fields was afforded by universal compulsory education. It is noteworthy that not a few parents strenuously resisted this compulsion, regarding it as an impairment of their "rights" over their children!

[23] Worked out in detail by Geheimrat Professor Mayet.

dependent, but that the function should be completely enfranchised from economic coercion. The woman's movement must develop into the motherhood movement, through which alone can humanity be regenerated. Free play must be restored to sexual choice, rendering possible an unvitiated process of selection. To this end, the child-bearing function must be recognized as the nodal point of social organization, simultaneously protected and freed. Freedom without protection is worthless, and no less worthless is protection without freedom. In matters of sex, above all, perfect freedom is essential. Herein we recognize the true end of the woman's movement as one of the most important of all the factors of human advance.

BOOK VIII

SEXUAL CRISIS AND THE RACE

You shall bear me a God upon Earth!
Prometheus shall from his seat arise,
And to the Earth-born race proclaim,
"Behold a Man, the Man of my desire."

KLEIST—*Pentheselea.*

CHAPTER XXIV

GENERAL RACIAL PROBLEMS

The "Well-Born." Definition of Life. The Struggle for Existence. Non-selective Influences. Conflicting Aims of Racial Hygiene and of Individual Hygiene. Increasing Propagation of the Less Fit and Sterilization of the More Fit. Marriage Prohibitions for the Healthy; Marriage Freedom for the Diseased. Factors Working Injury to the Racial Process.

IN an earlier chapter the view was expressed that it is only in the "well-born" human being that can be incorporated the capacity for harmony which renders possible the solution of extensive vital conflicts, and the combination of mutually oppugnant energies into a congenial whole. Only the well-born are victorious over life. But if the well-born are to come into existence, favorable factors, natural or artificial, must exist for their production. All living organisms are intimately dependent upon their ancestry. All our potentialities are limited by the nature of our biological inheritance.

What kind of process is it which we subsume under the concept "life"? According to Dr. Alfred Plötz, the founder of scientific

racial hygiene,[1] "the living organism of to-day is in direct continuity with the living organisms of æons past, and the living organisms of the future will in like manner be in direct continuity with those that exist to-day. Life must thus be regarded as a peculiar mode of motion, of enormous duration, associated with the activity of certain highly differentiated proteids."[2] This biologist, when he speaks of that which is characteristically living, does not refer to the isolated individual, but to "that which maintains and transforms an enduring vital unity; or what we conceive as the organic whole made up of all the individual organisms that arise out of and transmit this enduring vital unity." That which maintains and transforms this persistent vital unity, endowed with certain characteristic properties, the properties also of the individuals of which it is composed, is known as the *race*. The individual life is transient, but the race endures. "The perpetuation of life is secured only by the multiplicity of living individuals."

It is by the struggle for existence, generally speaking, that is effected an ever-increasing fitness of individuals and of the race. The perfecting and fortifying influence of the struggle for existence is, however, annulled whenever the excess of births becomes imperiled by a process of non-selective elimination; is annulled, that is to say, by the exclusion of individuals from the racial process, strong and weak alike, irrespective of their varying fitness, by overriding influences, capable of injuring, sterilizing, or wholly destroying them. Such an imperiling of the excess of births may occur in one race as contrasted with another; or within a single race it may occur in certain social strata as contrasted with others. Through the working of non-selective influences, through the operation of a *force majeure* quite unconcerned with the question of hu-

[1] *Racial Hygiene.*—This term denotes the study and practice of all those influences that promote the health of the race. These influences may be classified as, (a) environmental influences operating within the individual lifetime, (b) influences promoting the breeding of a better human stock. The study of the latter group of influences is the subject-matter of *eugenics*, of which Francis Galton is rightly regarded as the founder.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

[2] Address to the Bremen Congress, 1903.

man "fitness," whole groups of human beings may be injured or destroyed, their reproductive powers may be impaired, or they may be totally sterilized. As a non-selective factor, eliminating indifferently (in part at least) the fit and the unfit, we may instance modern warfare. In the warfare of earlier times, this anti-selective influence was far less marked, for in those days fighting was hand-to-hand, and it was the stronger and more skillful who tended to survive. But the rifle bullet, the shrapnel, and the explosive shell sweep away indifferently the brave and the cowardly, the strong and the weak. Nay, more, it is clear that war exercises a reversed selective influence, tending directly towards the elimination of the stronger types. The healthy and the fit go to the front, while the weakly and the unfit remain at home—and survive to propagate their kind. Moreover, after wars and similar man-destroying catastrophes, women's standard of choice declines, and this leads to a notable depression in the level of the racial process. After the war, since men are scarce, the women who desire to reproduce their kind must not be exacting. The factor we are now considering was an important contributory cause of the degeneration of the Greeks and the Romans. The best racial elements went to the wars, military service was the peculiar privilege of the free, and the women were left at home to reproduce their kind with the aid of those who were unfit for warfare, and with that of the imported slave population which was debarred from military service.

There is a certain conflict between the aims of racial hygiene and those of individual hygiene, for individual hygiene demands protection for weakly and diseased individuals, whereas the demand of racial hygiene for the welfare of that complex known as the race is apt to conflict with the principle of the protection of the weak. Thus it has for years been a part of the official program of the eugenists that alcoholics, persons liable to mental disorder, habitual criminals, degenerates, and syphilitics should be forbidden to marry or to procreate their kind; for eugenists are no longer willing to trust to the free operation of sexual selection, to the illusory hope that sexual selection will alone suffice to insure

the exclusion of the unfit from reproduction. What we see on all sides is that individuals of the finest types are excluded from reproduction, that they are sterilized, that their kind is eliminated from the racial process, simply because marriage is so difficult of attainment, and because social conditions are lacking which might favor reproduction outside marriage. Every day also, we may see that while the best (and above all the best women) are thus excluded from reproduction, the unfit and the defective (and this applies especially to men) have ample opportunities for reproduction, of which they are but too ready to avail themselves.

The logical consequence of these considerations is one which the advocates of racial hygiene do not hesitate to draw. Inasmuch as the community may suffer grave injury from the procreation of unsuitable elements, it must be recognized that the act of procreation is no mere private matter, but one which deeply concerns the community at large. Thus Rüdin writes:[3] "From the standpoint of racial hygiene, marriage prohibitions are essential in the case of certain types of the unfit, unless the proposed sexual partners are willing to make use of appropriate measures for the prevention of conception. In such cases, moreover, as I have previously insisted, if by some flaw in preventive precautions a conception should occur, it should be legally permissible to remedy the consequences of this misadventure to the satisfaction of all concerned. A consideration of such questions with minds unclouded by prejudice will show that it is only on these conditions that the racial hygienist can venture to concede the 'freedom of love'—freedom in the most personal and most intimate of all human relationships."

* * * * * * *

The upward evolutionary process of our race is arrested by the perversion of selection. In face of the gigantic number of defectives, those of fitter type no longer find it possible to make a stand. All artificial alleviations of human existence are illusory, so long as the conditions indispensable for the practical application of these alleviations are not familiar parts of the average mental equip-

[3] E. Rüdin, *Arch. für Rassen und Gesellschaftsbiologie,* fourth year, No. 1.

ment. Behind everything that is effected by the operation of will there stands the individual human being. Consequently the most important of all the problems of civilization is the provision of an average mental equipment which will secure the conditions leading to the production of the greatest possible number of well-born individuals —to the preponderant generation of the fit. When we look around, and our eyes encounter everywhere malformations of the human type, how can we continue to believe in the "universal power of love," which could couple such pairs for procreation? In the widespread production of mental and physical defectives lies the focal point of our sexual misery. This misery has reached its present proportions because the majority of those born to-day must be regarded, to quote the biting phrase of a Viennese satirist, "as the unfortunate consequences of neglect—neglect to employ means for the prevention of conception." Such as these had far better have remained in the realm of the unborn; but having found their way into this world of ours through the heedlessness of their parents, these unfortunates have to bear the burden of their parents' ills. The production of this misbegotten human material is a legitimate outcome of the accepted sexual order. Yet this race of ours is at the summit of latter-day civilization!

We are, as Plötz phrases it, "overweighted with defectives." The worst of it is that nothing is done to hinder the propagation of these defective types. We have seen that the existing methods of sexual choice do not exclude the less fit from reproduction; we have learned that so long as the reproductive process is subordinated to economic and social considerations, a natural selective process is impossible. The community makes no effort to prevent the overloading of the race with the less fit. We are familiar, indeed, with the idea of marriage prohibitions. We actually have such prohibitions to-day—for schoolmistresses, thus excluding from reproduction women whom a stringent process of selection has shown to possess exceptional endowments. We have also marriage prohibitions for young, strong, and healthy army officers, who are not permitted to marry unless they possess considerable private means.

Apart from such direct marriage prohibitions, we have millions of young men to whom marriage is impossible because, though they are in the full vigor of manhood and are engaged in some normal occupation, they lack the means to support a family, at any rate without a lowering in their standard of life. Surely such a state of affairs as this must be the outcome of social mismanagement, and yet it is universal throughout the civilized world. In Germany alone there are six million men and nearly eight million women of marriageable age who are excluded from reproduction.—But there are no marriage prohibitions for the diseased, the defective, and the degenerate. Syphilitics are allowed without demur to disseminate the virus of this hereditary disease; drunkards may use their degenerate germ-plasm for the production of the new generation. We learn from statistical evidence that in the kingdom of Saxony alone there are thirty-five thousand drunkards who have fifty thousand children.

To secure the birth of a larger number of unblemished human beings it is essential that the procreation of healthy children should be favored by special social institutions; the production of the "well-born" must be made the concern of the community at large, altogether apart from the question of the marriage of the parents, which is a purely private matter. There are various means by which society can greatly facilitate, and there are other means by which society can seriously hinder, the procreation of the fit. In the essay previously quoted, Rüdin writes: "There are many proposals for reform in this domain of racial hygiene. . . . One only need be mentioned here, the most necessary of all, whose adoption would enormously strengthen our Empire, while bringing glory to its promulgators. I refer to a group of measures which would check the decline in the birth-rate and at the same time maintain and improve the quality of the offspring." But what are these measures which are to favor the procreation of the fit? The problem is here merely mooted without any attempt at a solution on Rüdin's part. Stevenson reports that Charles IV decreed that all foundlings should be ennobled in order to wipe out the stain upon

their birth. Such a measure might lead to an increase in the birth-rate, whereas the present persecution of unmarried mothers is a contributory cause in the decline in the birth-rate—a fact which should come home more especially to conventional England and prudish America.

In the writer's view, the most important means to check the decline in the birth-rate and to improve the quality of the offspring would be the enfranchisement of the procreative power of woman from its existing subordination to social considerations, the separation of reproduction from any necessary connection with the existing marriage system, whose effects are often non-selective and even anti-selective. There would result an enfranchisement also of the procreative power of the male during the best years of life. It should be a primary demand of racial hygiene that it should become socially possible for human beings in the full vigor of youth, for those who are healthy, loving and fit, to propagate their kind outside the limits of marriage. To this end are requisite: first, an adequate system of motherhood protection; secondly, properly paid work for women, occupations which women can pursue in amplification of their other social functions as wives and mothers, which will make them economically independent and will enable them to enter sexual partnerships upon equal terms; thirdly, complete moral and social approval of every act of motherhood which in no way impairs the quality of the human race; fourthly, intelligently planned hygienic and educational measures for the care and upbringing of children. These changes would imply upon the part of the community a vigorous intervention in the sexual crisis on racial hygienic or eugenic principles, in order to restore to human beings their natural right to the fulfillment of their biological destiny, and thereby to give in addition that natural and spontaneous happiness, lacking which even the strongest and proudest natures lose elasticity and undergo partial atrophy and degeneration in enforced sexual isolation. Thus would a term be put to the present shameless perversion of courtship and to the consequent disastrous decline in the quality of our race. Natural

selection having once again become operative, mankind would regain the power of bearing normal fruit.

* * * * * * *

Among the various factors now obviously working to the detriment of the racial process, there are some in particular to which the racial hygiene of our day has paid the most earnest attention. We know now, for example, that chronic poisoning with certain metallic salts, the inevitable accompaniment of many manufacturing operations as at present conducted, gives rise to pathological tissue-changes, and directly or indirectly exercises a deleterious influence upon the germinal cells; we know also that nervous and mental disorders are characterized by a decline in the energy of the chromosomes; appropriate legal measures are suggested for the prevention of these evils. But, above all, the new science of racial hygiene, whose cultivation still unfortunately lacks official aid, is devoting its attention to those features of social life which lead to an interference with the adequate working of natural and of sexual selection, and thus involve a progressive deterioration in the human stock.

Plötz enumerates as follows the factors which work injury to the racial process:

1. The absence of a legal limitation of the age at marriage. He contends that the right of reproduction should be withheld until the attainment of complete sexual maturity, twenty-five in the male and twenty-three in the female.

2. The failure to prohibit the marriage of weakly and diseased individuals. Especially worthy of reprobation are the "labors of pious ladies" to secure the marriage of congenitally deaf-mute and blind individuals.

3. Lack of due consideration on the part of the individual as to his own bodily condition at the time of the act of intercourse: for example, intercourse while in a state of inebriation, or even when "slightly exhilarated" with alcohol; debilitation of the con-

stitution of the offspring by excessive smoking in men and by tight-lacing in women.

4. A too rapid succession of births, working serious injury alike to mother and children. If the racial process is to continue on satisfactory lines, no woman should give birth to more than six children. Yet from the statistics of Berlin for 1891 we learn that one-sixth of all births were those of children whose mothers had previously given birth to six at least.

5. Lack of proper care in the rearing of children, such as artificial feeding instead of the natural feeding of infants, etc.

6. Our efforts to rear infants of weakly constitution; "the rendering of medical aid in various diseases of childhood, which ultimately results in the production of permanently debilitated stocks." [Here we are unable to follow Plötz. The impulse of all the higher animals to care for their progeny even when weakly is too profoundly implanted for it to be possible to suggest to any parent that a weakly child should not be allowed to live. Once a human being is born alive it has claims on our protection. The community's right of veto should operate only to prevent the procreation of inferior types. If this be done effectively, the care of the weakly will not involve serious trouble. Even in the matter of the prevention of procreation, our intervention must be guarded, for weakly parents frequently procreate very fine children—by a fortunate atavism, a reversion to a stronger ancestral type. Moreover, we should be thrusting too rude a hand among the secrets of nature should we decide to expose upon Mount Taygetos every debilitated specimen of our race, as the racial hygienist Lycurgus is said to have done in the case of all twins, all children of fathers over fifty years of age, and all weakly infants. Who can say what potentialities may not be concealed in an apparently defective child? The Dioscuri were twins, Goethe as a new-born infant was so weakly that for many days after birth it was doubtful if he could be kept alive; Haeckel was the son of a father more than fifty years of age.]

7. The inheritance of property, giving wealthy defectives a per-

manent advantage in the struggle for existence over impecunious individuals of a higher type. Here the views and conclusions of Plötz are in perfect harmony with the socialist criticism of inheritance, and we follow him with complete approval when he writes: "In an ideal racial process every individual would enter the economic arena with no advantage of equipment beyond that furnished by his own capacities. Each would be assured of an equal share in the socialized means of production. . . . In such conditions, many of the sons of wealthy and privileged parents would find life a difficult matter. Upon him who, in such an economic struggle, proves too weak to maintain himself, let poverty fall with its full eliminative influence. It is an old dispute, continues Plötz, whether in present conditions we should regard poverty as a selective factor, whether "the poor must be identified with the less fit in the struggle for existence, or whether nowadays poverty is a non-selective factor, eliminating the fit equally with the unfit. In view of the present artificial distribution of wealth, whereby the large majority of mankind are denied free access to the means of production and to the opportunities for higher education, whilst our socially produced wealth is artificially heaped up in the hands of a small minority, it seems to me that we are forced to regard poverty as a non-selective factor." Plötz enumerates the qualities which chiefly tend to counteract the eliminative influence of poverty. "They consist in good constitutional powers, more especially a well-developed intelligence and a good capacity for work, certain moral inhibitions, a peculiar mixture of altruism and egoism, and last not least a certain capacity for lying and hypocrisy. . . . Everyone knows that very frequently, apart from direct untruthfulness as the outcome of greed, every possible degree of deception, from the accepted conventional lie up to the grossest hypocrisy, is exercised at times simply in order to conceal the divergence of our views from the general opinions of our fellow men. In default of such deception anyone seeking an economic favor will probably be repelled for the advantage of another whose acknowledged opinions do not arouse so much fric-

tion in the brain of the person with the favor to bestow. Parenthetically it may be remarked that herein is involved a wide-spread degenerative influence which the existing capitalist system exercises over the enormous majority of human beings."

8. The artificial limitation of the families of the well-to-do (from motives of convenience, selfishness, etc.), and the simultaneous unchecked increase of the very poor (from ignorance, and from the lack of means for prevention). This excessive procreation of the very poor does not give rise to a general excess of births over deaths, for, in these lower strata of the population as over-population increases the infantile death-rate increases to a corresponding degree.

9. The attraction of the more intelligent types to the large towns, where, "owing to the higher mortality, without any corresponding increase in the birth-rate, these types tend to be eliminated."

10. Great wars and revolutionary movements.

11. The use of measures for the prevention of conception. [It is obvious that the writer refers here to the *unwise* use of such measures, for their proper application must necessarily redound to the welfare of the race.]

12. The care taken of persons suffering from diseases due to inherited weakness or anomaly (mental disorders, consumption, etc.), and the consequent further transmission of these diseases and disease-tendencies by inheritance.

13. Certain protective measures undertaken by the community-at-large. [Here a reply seems to me requisite, even in view of the qualification made by Plötz that in his discussion of the ideal racial process he attempts no more than "a sketch of a Utopia from the outlook of a single individual whose views may in various respects need reconsideration." For I do not understand how the communal organization of insurance against illness, old age, accident, and unemployment can possibly be regarded as "a disastrous interference in the struggle for existence." Can it be contended that the evils which these social provisions are intended

to obviate affect only the less fit, the congenitally debile? Disease and accident, just as much as age and unemployment, may affect the best and the fittest. Unemployment, especially, when it is the result of commercial crises, effects a non-selective elimination. The best and the fittest, if they are persons of an honorable type who happen to be born poor, are hardly in a position to provide adequately by their unaided exertions for all the emergencies named. If the economic struggle for existence were freely selective, if there existed true equality of opportunity, if all had the same opportunities for cultivation and the like access to the means of production, if all could enter the arena on equal terms, then, indeed, those incapable of making provision for the obvious mischances of life might be accounted less fit, and from the eugenist outlook we might reasonably demand their elimination. But in the actual conditions of the capitalist world-order, institutions for social protection, far from favoring the survival of the less fit, not infrequently furnish protection for the fit against the competition of those economically favored persons many of whom are comparatively unfit. Hence it is impossible to accept the view that the general influence of such institutions is anti-selective.]

14. Alcoholism must be recognized as a non-selective eliminative factor, in so far as its destroys, not merely morally weak and congenitally defective individuals (in which case, of course, it eliminates the less fit), but in so far as by foolish social convivial customs, and through ignorance, it exerts its far-reaching noxious influence upon persons of normal mental and physical equipment. [In his Address to the Bremen Congress (1903), Plötz writes: "With regard to the most dangerous class of alcoholics, the class of moderate drinkers, it is absolutely essential that women's power of choice should be more stringently exercised. Women must be taught to regard the moderate drinker as a no less undesirable mate than the confirmed drunkard. They should not wait for their duty in this respect to be brought home to them by male lecturers and writers, . . . but should seize this opportunity of showing that the woman's movement is capable of the spontaneous origination

of higher human valuations." But Plötz writes as if woman's power of sexual choice were a reality and not for the most part an illusion. If he is right in thinking that racial regeneration depends upon free sexual selection on the part of women, determined by consideration for the welfare of the offspring, it follows that sexual and social reform, which would restore woman's freedom of choice, is the alpha and omega of racial hygiene.]

15. General ignorance regarding the measures by which the procreation of inferior types might be prevented. The author regards capitalism as the principal cause of this increasing procreation of inferior types—as the leading factor in the reversal of the selective process.[4]

[4] The views of Plötz, summarized in this section, are expounded in his work, *Die Tüchtigkeit unserer Rasse und der Schutz der Schwachen.* S. Fischer, Berlin, 1895.

CHAPTER XXV

THE SEXUAL STRUGGLE

Obstacles to the Work of Reproduction: The Extral Struggle, the Social Struggle, the Sexual Struggle. The "Struggle for the Fit Sexual Partner." True Selection Hindered, Falsified Selection Favored.

The condition of the sexual cells at the time of fertilization is, as Robert Müller insists in his "Sexualbiologie," of far-reaching importance in its bearing on the constitution of the new being. Heredity is more important even than environment; the equipment with which we enter the world matters more than anything that can happen to us after birth. Thus the act of reproduction involves the leading determinants in the destiny of the newly formed individual, and reproduction cannot be effected until various obstacles have been successfully overcome. One of these obstacles is what has been termed the *extral* struggle, that is to say, the struggle on the part of the individual against all those influences in external nature which may affect him adversely. Another obstacle to be overcome is the *social* struggle, the struggle for existence within the limits of human society. Last of all, and most important, we have the *sexual* struggle, defined by Darwin as "the struggle for the fit sexual partner," upon whose outcome depends the process known as sexual selection. In normal biological conditions, one who is victorious in the extral struggle, the social struggle, and the sexual is the one best adapted to the biological environment, is the *fittest*.

The elimination of certain individuals, or at least the elimination of their types by the exclusion of these individuals from reproduction, effects, once more in normal biological conditions, an admirable process of selection, preserving the more useful varieties,

and quietly weeding out the comparatively unfit. But we have learned that in the artificial conditions of modern social life there are also operative certain non-selective factors, injurious influences affecting fit and unfit alike. These influences are, to quote Plötz once more, too powerful for anyone to cope with in virtue of any attainable degree of personal fitness, and they can no longer be regarded as stimuli tending to strengthen our powers for the struggle for existence. Their destructive force is utterly disproportionate to the possible growth of our capacities (growth dependent on the physiological law that every organic function is strengthened by exercise): like the rain they fall upon the just and the unjust; indiscriminately they destroy the higher and the lower types of our species.

Our study of the sexual crisis has shown that in all three varieties of the struggle for existence, the extral struggle, the social struggle, and the sexual struggle, non-selective and even anti-selective factors are at work. Just as the custom of convivial drinking may lead to the destruction by alcohol of the fit elements no less than of the unfit, so also the sexual customs of a country as embodied in the laws and moral judgments of any human society may (but in far higher degree than alcohol since the working of these sexual customs is inevitable) lead to the indiscriminate elimination of the fit and the unfit, the noble and the base, the good varieties and the bad. It is here that our peculiar investigation enters upon common ground with eugenics, and it is for this reason that we have found it necessary to consider the actual achievements of this comparatively new science. Just as a commercial crisis in the economic world leads to the indiscriminate elimination of good varieties and of bad, so also the sexual crisis in which our sexual customs have involved us leads biologically to the indifferent elimination of good varieties and of bad, effecting this in the following ways:

It hinders the reproductive activity of those who, from the biological outlook, are eminently fitted to reproduce their kind.

It favors the reproductive activity of those biologically unfitted for procreation (exercising here a direct anti-selective working).

It gives rise to influences which injuriously affect the parental germinal cells to such a degree as to lead to the procreation of inferior types. It does this in part, for example, through the masculine need for recourse to prostitution, as a preliminary stage on the way to the long-delayed marriage; in part, by deferring fatherhood to too advanced an age; in part, by too rapid a succession of pregnancies; in part, by the excessive economic strain imposed upon men, which often renders marriage altogether impossible—and so on.

In the writer's opinion, those now engaged in the study of racial hygiene have hitherto failed to pay sufficient attention to the fact that the *normal* sexual system of the civilized world is responsible for the operation of numerous non-selective and even anti-selective factors. In Plötz's enumeration of non-selective factors there is no mention of this aspect of our normal sexual life, nor have I met with any references to the matter elsewhere.

What, from the eugenist standpoint, is the outcome of our present marriage system; what is the working of its inevitable consequences and corollaries, prostitution and wide-spread celibacy? This is the problem we have to solve. We have seen that the struggle for the fit sexual partner, which ought to be based on free choice on both sides, and ought to eventuate in a vigorous process of sexual selection, is utterly perverted by the existing conditions of our sexual life. Women's economic dependence, in conjunction with the established marriage system, has largely deprived them of the freedom of choice. But without freedom of choice, unvitiated sexual selection is impossible. As regards men, also, freedom of choice is seriously impaired by the dependence of opportunities for reproductive activity upon material considerations. Generally speaking, man does not now reproduce his kind where the selective will of nature impels him to "the act which peoples earth," but only where the economic conditions are favorable.

Let us briefly summarize the injurious influences dependent

upon the sexual crisis, considering first those that are the direct outcome of the institution of marriage, and secondly those that are the indirect outcome of that institution, those that arise from prostitution and from enforced celibacy.

A. Direct influences of contemporary marriage.

1. Under our official sexual system, obstacles are opposed to reproduction where reproduction should proceed unchecked:

a. Young, strong and beautiful human beings are in effect forbidden to procreate, if, as is usual, they are not in an economic position which would enable them to set up house.

b. If such persons should decide to ignore the existing marriage regulations, even then they will find procreation difficult. It is difficult, for example, for a woman to find a man whom, for one reason or another, she cannot or will not marry and who is yet willing to join with her in the procreation of a child likely to be "well-born." Both parties are withheld from such a possibility by manifold economic and moral deterrents.

c. Those already married will not readily find anyone but the legalized sexual partner to join in the work of procreation. If one member of a married pair be unfruitful, in our present sexual order the other partner is also sterilized. Here is a classical literary example. Master Builder Solness, wedded to a living corpse, cannot attain to the summit of the tower where happiness and beauty dwell, because his conscience, terrorized by the accepted order of society, does not allow him to climb thither with success, and he falls and breaks his neck in attempting the ascent. Yet when once we have emancipated our minds from the duress of the existing conventional morality, we find it impossible to understand why such a man as Solness should not unite with Hilda Wangel for the procreation of children, and why he should be condemned to sterilization for the sake of his conjugal partner whose spirit dwells among the tombs.

2. Under our official sexual system, reproduction is favored where it ought to be hindered (reversed selection).

a. A man worn out by the excesses of wild love, or exhausted

merely by the ordinary stresses of life and by the advance of age, at length marries and propagates.

b. A woman of property, biologically speaking of inferior type, marries and reproduces her kind.

c. A couple whose offspring is invariably of wretched quality still continues to procreate, though one partner or the other could very probably produce offspring of a far higher quality in association with a more suitable partner.

d. A woman weakened constitutionally by a rapid succession of pregnancies must continue to bear children, injuring thereby the progeny of her healthy husband; conversely, a man biologically inferior, in the exercise of his lifelong monopoly, weakens the issue of a healthy woman.

e. Here is an instance of the favoring of a falsified selection and the hindering of a sound selective process in different life-stages of the same individuality. A beautiful young woman of lower-class birth gives herself to a handsome and vigorous young man of station, the latter not thinking of marriage. The woman becomes pregnant, whereat there is great distress, although in appropriate social conditions the event would be hailed with joy. The child of those two fine biological specimens, whose union is the outcome of reciprocal free choice, must not be born if its birth can possibly be avoided, and if born it is likely to be reared in undesirable environmental conditions. Many years later the same man, after exhausting his constitution in the morass of prostitution, procreates children in legal marriage with an unattractive but well-dowered woman—whereupon all his friends congratulate him, and society rejoices.

B. Indirect influences of contemporary marriage.

1. Prostitution is the source of manifold injurious racial influences. It is the focus of venereal disease, it debilitates the sexual impulse, it excludes from the racial process all those women who become the instruments of prostitution (and men as well as women who have had frequent experience of sexual intercourse under the conditions that obtain in prostitution are liable in subsequent mar-

riage to prove infertile or to propagate diseased offspring); the debilitation of the sexual impulse which results from recourse to prostitution deters men from marriage; the elimination from the racial process of the women who become prostitutes often prevents the transmission by inheritance of fine physical qualities, for the women who become prostitutes are commonly good-looking. On the other hand, since it is rather under the pressure of need than owing to any inborn vicious tendency that women adopt this mode of life, we cannot accept the view that the effect of prostitution is to eliminate vicious tendencies from the race through the sterilization of the prostitute.

2. The second evil we have to consider under this head is the enforced celibacy of millions of human beings biologically well-fitted for procreation. A large proportion of the population is excluded from reproduction simply through economic inability to marry, and the contention that marriage effects a selection of the fittest types cannot be sustained as regards the existing sexual order. Putting on one side the question of the inheritance of economic advantages, the power to acquire these advantages, the aptitude for money-making, has no necessary connection with the possession of fine human qualities. A man who, of deliberate intent, devotes his life to the future welfare of our race is unlikely, in the economy of existing society, to acquire a position which will enable him to support a family; and should he have daughters they will probably be dowerless, and will therefore have no suitors. Anti-selective influences are also at work in the case of persons of fine sensibilities, who naturally demand high qualities in a sexual partner; and even if such persons encounter a suitable companion, marriage may be impossible for economic reasons. It follows that, within the limits of the existing sexual order, and unless they are willing to disregard the restrictions of that order, such persons are eliminated from the racial process. By our existing moral conventions—and it is with these we are now concerned, with their non-selective and anti-selective influence, and not with occasional instances in which the conven-

tions are defied—those who do not marry are condemned to celibacy. Thus innumerable individuals who would prove the fittest in any unvitiated process of natural selection are forcibly excluded from the racial process. It is for these reasons, it is because the official sexual system encourages the operation of influences both non-selective and anti-selective, that all earnest eugenists should make common cause with the advocates of sexual and social reform.

* * * * * * *

In this place a passing mention may be made of the views of Alfred Russel Wallace, the distinguished biologist, a socialist on Darwinian lines. In plain terms he asserts that woman should have free choice of a sexual partner.[5] Men, considers Wallace, have the power of choice in any case, for they can choose their wives without regard to the economic status of these; but he desires that "the selective function should be exercised by the female sex." He speaks of the "cultured spirit" and of the "pure sentiments" of women, but gives no indication as to how these valuable qualities are to find application in the sexual life. Moreover, since he appears to accept the existing marriage system, he treats merely the symptoms of the sexual crisis, while leaving the essential pathological cause untouched.

Plötz's reply to Wallace is based yet more definitely upon the existing marriage system, and has therefore even less to do with the possibilities of improving selection by ignoring the restraints of that system. He fears that the more effective elimination resulting from perfect freedom of sexual choice would give rise to much suffering; he compassionates the women who in such a case would become old-maids [what about those who become old-maids to-day?], compassionates the men who would be passed over, etc.—But the exclusion of these men and these women would be justified, being independent of economic and legal coercion and of the influence of social suggestion. One who, because undesired, fails to attain to procreation and to love, is one who, to his or her fellow

[5] Quoted by Plötz, in an article entitled, *Menschliche Auslese*, published in "Zukunft," July 7, 1894.

human beings, appears undesirable. This judgment may be mistaken, but at any rate we have here an unfalsified process of selection at work. To-day, a woman whom many men desire may remain unfruitful simply because the irrelevant conditions (irrelevant to the question of sexual selection) demanded by our social and economic order are incapable of fulfillment. Similarly, a man who finds the maintenance of a whole group of human beings a task beyond his powers, and who lacks the chance of making, or disdains to make, a well-dowered marriage, may be desired by many women for his own sake, but he is likely to remain without offspring. Could we make an end of those economic, legal, and suggestive influences that now load the dice, the human beings that would then be excluded from reproduction would be the sexually undesired and the biologically undesirable, and the exclusion of the desired and the desirable from the racial process, their exclusion by the operation of non-selective factors, would no longer take place.

CHAPTER XXVI

SOCIALISM AND THE THEORY OF SELECTION

Apparent Conflict between the Socialist and the Darwinian Views of the World-Order. The Sexual Victory of Lower Types over Higher. The Protection of the Weak and the Struggle for Existence. Plötz's Solution of the Problem: The Adoption of Measures to Secure the Birth of Better Human Varieties. Sexual Reform and Racial Hygiene. Synthesis of the Idealism of the Antique and the Christian Worlds.

The ground idea of Plötz's work is the supposed conflict between the two views of the world-order, socialism and the theory of selection, between the principle of the "protection of the weak," on the one hand, and the apparently contradictory principle of the "struggle for existence" with the consequent elimination of the less fit, on the other. In his concept of racial hygiene Plötz finds the possibility of a synthesis between these two ideas which have been so widely regarded as essentially contradictory.

In the opinion of the present writer, socialism involves no antagonism to the struggle for existence, to the preference of the fit. All that socialism demands is equality of opportunity, a fair start in the race; but it does not exclude the possibility that those of different endowments should aim at different goals. The primary aim of socialism is the abolition of the economic order which renders possible the uncontrolled exploitation of one human being by another. The unfalsified economic selection of the best cannot be effected until a genuine equalization of opportunities has been secured. When all have equal claims to elementary and to higher education, and when all have equal access to the means of production, we shall, for the first time, learn who are the truly fit; whereas to-day, when one starts with an elaborate equipment owed to the

artificial inheritance of property, whilst another leaves the social "scratch" fettered hand and foot, the results alike of the economic and of the sexual struggle are completely vitiated.

Plötz writes: "We are already well advanced in the institution of measures, communal as well as private, for the protection of the economically weak and of those weak in other respects. Insurance against sickness, accident, and old age, legislative restriction of the hours of labor, and numerous other interferences with the right of employers to impose certain conditions of work, are to-day general in many civilized countries." Now Plötz regards such protective social organization as tending to inhibit the working of the chief factors that should eliminate the unfit. For my own part, I am unable to recognize in such protective organization any factors that inhibit the struggle for existence or interfere with the selection of the best. Are the fit more easy to recognize when the workers are exploited without check? Is not limitless exploitation a non-selective factor, and sometimes an anti-selective factor, one calculated to eliminate the stronger varieties also, inasmuch as excessive toil and insufficient nutriment wear down the stronger constitutions no less than the weaker, and ruin the possible offspring even in the germ? This does not lead to the survival of the fittest, but merely serves to make even the fit more and more wretched; and if, in virtue of the law of adaptation, the artificially degraded varieties are able to maintain themselves in the arena, the adaptation is productive of a lower instead of a higher human type. Can it be contended that the biological degradation of the Silesian weavers, progressing from generation to generation, represents the survival of the fittest because the weavers continue to live and to procreate, because they maintain their place in the arena? True, they remain in the arena, but in how wretched a condition!

We have to ask ourselves whether the unlimited capacity for exploitation acquired by those who have gained economic power over their fellow men is not a potent cause of racial deterioration, whether the abundance in our midst of mental and physical cripples is not the outcome of the working of this influence throughout

human history. The lake-dwellers were less highly civilized than we are, but there can be no doubt that their average strength of constitution was far greater than that of our own contemporaries.

The Dutch sociologist Rutgers takes a similar view. He writes: "A mitigation of the selective struggle may well be a gain for those engaged in it, whereas a victory in the struggle for existence may result in a terrible disillusionment. Call to mind the families of the poor, and think of the myriads of children reared in an atmosphere literally and metaphorically plague-stricken. It is a fine struggle for existence, this hunger-test, this deficiency of light and air, productive of anemia and tuberculosis! . . . What types of individual ultimately establish themselves as the fittest, and are thus enabled to perpetuate their kind? Let us consider one of the commonest cases. Owing to a prolonged drought in the springtime there has been a fierce struggle for existence in my garden; when the rain at length comes, which plants will show themselves to have been victorious in the struggle? We shall find that the finer seedlings have all perished and that it is only the weeds that flourish luxuriantly. Such is the process when we leave it in nature's hands. Unassisted nature will produce nothing but wild plants, wild animals, and savage human beings—the types best adapted to the *natural* conditions." Rutgers goes on to advocate purposive intervention in the matter of sexual selection, and in selection by the potential mother he recognizes an entirely new factor in the human racial process.

Yet another biologist, Walter Claassen, takes the same view, that the products of selection, the victors in the struggle for existence, cannot always be regarded as the fittest in any exalted sense. In an article upon "National Degeneration"[6] he contends that today passivity is cultivated while activity is eliminated. "In this dung-heap of a world, the worm-natures propagate unceasingly, whilst the lion-natures fail to perpetuate their type." The strong and the active have a larger standard of consumption than the

[6] *Entartung der Volksmassen*, "Arch. für Rassen und Gesellschaftsbiologie," Vol. III.

passive, the petty, and the contemptible. Hence, while the latter kinds maintain and reproduce themselves, the former perish because they are unable to obtain the supply of physical and mental nutriment demanded by their more vigorous type of metabolism. Hence, for us to rely upon the law of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence, means simply that the faculty of being passive, petty, and contemptible becomes a "fit" quality promoting preferential survival. Active and vigorous minds will draw the inference that man must avail himself of his superiority to nature, must utilize his powers for deliberately altering natural conditions to suit his own purposes; must, in a word, employ the powers of civilization for the control of nature, and must take steps to secure the systematic maintenance of the threatened active types.

Observation teaches that in the sexual struggle the victory is often with those of commoner type. The ignoble tend increasingly to preponderate over the noble, because the ignoble unite and propagate far more readily, whereas the noble tend to remain unpaired, since it is difficult for them to find suitable mates. Marriage for monetary considerations works counter to any true selective process. We are assured that the existing economic order is one of free competition, that the individually fittest have the best chances of success. We might as well tell beings born with fettered limbs or born in a cage to compete freely with those born and reared in the free life of the open. Those without inherited capital are to-day born in chains. It does not suffice to have energy, for energy needs matter on which it can work, and the matter on which our energy has to work is our own "natural" environment. Equality of environing conditions, equal opportunities for all, are the indispensable prerequisites to the proper development of individual varieties, to the survival of the fittest (from the humanist outlook), to a truly free competition, to the victory of the best. Proper communal provision is essential for the general life of the individuals who combine to form a human society. None can dispense with social help; the moment will come in which even the noblest will succumb if no helping hand is offered.

The protection of the weak, the question whether that protection is or is not adequate, may in certain circumstances be a test of the fitness of society itself. When the individual who has fallen upon evil days receives protection, it is for its own aid even more than for that of the individual that the community reacts. The society that cares for the unfortunate, cures the sick, sustains the weakly, exhibits thereby the possession of intrinsic forces of regeneration. For in that moment in which the individual suffers he ceases, from the social point of view, to be a separate and independent entity, and becomes more obviously than ever before a member of the community; his own personality retreats into the background, and as an individual link he is merged in the general chain of the life of the species. Thus the society which brings relief to this suffering individual thereby demonstrates its own fitness. This is probably the root explanation of the universal human impulse in developed society towards mutual aid. Uncivilized races leave their sick, their cripples, and their idiots unassisted, and these unfortunates have to struggle for existence with their own unaided powers until they succumb. Does this promote the preferential survival of the free and fine types? Are not the diseased individuals, if left uncared for, an eminent danger to the community? When they are properly cared for in suitable institutions does the protection thus furnished by communal effort redound to their own advantage alone? Is it not true that by such actions society, first and above all, protects itself? Does not the social organism which successfully effects this work of regeneration thereby prove that its great body is strong and fit, and therefore competent to survive in the struggle for existence?

The further formulation and more detailed solution of this problem may be left to those racial hygienists—socialists and Darwinians—who are striving to effect a synthesis of these two views of the world-order.

* * * * * * *

Plötz himself agrees that the struggle for existence may be mitigated, and even abolished, without injury to the human race. To

render this possible it is essential, he considers, that every alleviation of the struggle for existence, every social intervention for the protection of the weak, should be counterbalanced by equivalent effort for the control of variability through the adoption of methods which shall lead to the birth of better varieties.

Where the writer differs from Plötz is in the view that protective organization is in itself competent to safeguard the race against the working of non-selective or anti-selective factors. Such protection is not merely protection of the weak, but is further, to quote the term used by Goldscheid, "social protection against weakness." It is in itself a means for securing the birth of better human varieties, and not an evil that must be counterbalanced by palliatives.

The fundamental idea of Plötz's system, however, is to divert the struggle for existence from the cell-state, that is, from the human individual, to particular cells, that is, to the germinal cells. This diversion is to be effected by measures deliberately planned to secure the procreation of improved human varieties. Plötz demands "the wide diffusion of a sound knowledge of procreative hygiene," of which the alpha and the omega is "the use of preventive methods in sexual intercourse." He writes: "The use of preventive methods in sexual intercourse releases the act of procreation from subordination to the often invincible sensual desires of the moment, and enables us to provide for that act the more favorable conditions that we desire. Our knowledge is so far advanced to-day that if proper medical advice were given it would only be persons of an extremely defective type who would be unable or unwilling to practice preventive intercourse with success. To stigmatize preventive intercourse as immoral, as many still do to-day, and to reject its practice on that ground, is merely to throw the doors wide open to the disastrous anti-selective influences."

Inasmuch as the reform of the sexual order of society, our own chosen topic of study, is one of the most important means for securing the birth of better human varieties, and since the adoption of measures to this end is, in Plötz's view, to replace the struggle

for existence between adults, the space we have given to the discussion of the fundamental ideas of this writer is justified. His notion really involves a new conception of the world-order. It is the first successful synthesis known to me of the humanist ideal with the aristocratic principle of the victory of the strongest; the first complete approximation of those widely separated poles of thought which we associate, on the one hand with the names of Christ and Tolstoi, and on the other with those of Darwin and Nietzsche. For this synthesis proved beyond the powers even of a Nietzsche.

Starting from this point, a writer of history from the psychological outlook (this scientific type is still non-existent, but it is one whose coming is eminently desirable) might seek for that synthesis of which our time has so urgent a need: a synthesis of the classical and of the Christian ideals. We want to rescue and revitalize the antique joy of life, freed from the lack of conscience which led those of the antique world to stride to their pleasures across the bodies of the dead; we need to fuse this joy of life with the ideal of humanism, and with the altruistic sense of responsibility which Christ was the first to grave deeply upon the popular consciousness. This synthesis, to be effected in the psychological and philosophical domain, is, in fact, identical with the synthesis, to be effected in the physiological and sociological domain, of the selective principle with the principle of the protection of the weak; or at any rate the former synthesis must be established upon the foundation of the latter. A synthesis of the moral values of the classical with those of the Christian world (a synthesis for which the modern consciousness craves) is attainable, in my opinion, only through the successful reform of our sexual life.

* * * * * * *

The reform of the sexual life awaits its Luther—but the coming great sexual reformer may be of either sex. Let the writer hasten to explain that she has not cast herself for that lofty rôle and that she is quite content with the more modest part of such a forerunner

as John Huss. If, at last, she were forced to share the fate of Huss, if like him she should have to say:

"Heute braten sie eine Gans
Das bin ich, der arme Hans." [7]

still, it would be her hope that like Huss she might prophesy:

"In hundert Jahren kommt ein Schwan,
Den werden sie ungebraten lahn." [8]

In such a case the writer would gladly burn to-day, but for her work as forerunner would feel justified in the joyful adoption of the words of that same Swan, Martin Luther: "Here stand I, and can do otherwise, God helping me."

[7] "To-day they are roasting a goose
That goose am I, Poor John Huss."
The couplet in the German does not merely rhyme, but involves a word-play upon the Czech name for goose, *Hussa; Hans* is the popular version of *Johannes,* John.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

[8] "In a hundred years will come a swan,
This they will leave unroasted."

CHAPTER XXVII

THE REFORM OF PROCREATION

The Fundamental Idea of Sexual Reform: The Production and Maintenance of Fit Human Beings. The Struggle against the Forbears. Religious Need of Humanity. Reverence for Procreation as the Religion of the Future.

"The sexual pairing of man and woman is effected for the purpose of procreation: but it is in truth a divine matter; and of mortal beings, this is the immortal part."[9] . . . A complete sexual partnership, one fully satisfying all the requirements of our nature, is the greatest, but also the rarest, happiness that human beings can experience. Since this complete partnership of two lives and two souls, for the attainment of which we gladly cast to the winds all the material and social advantages another partnership might bring, is so rare that in the desert of our life we are apt to hail with joy the mere arousing of sympathy. The feeling of sympathy between persons of opposite sexes is, in fact, a lure, a pious fraud on nature's part for the production of new specimens of our race. "In relation to the act of procreation, beauty is a coupling and birth-giving goddess. For this reason, when one desirous of the act of kind draws near to one who is beautiful, the former becomes ardent, interpermeated with beauty, has intercourse, and fertilizes."[10] If, in a happy hour, a healthy child is procreated, in a rationally organized society, this could never be regarded as a misfortune; in such a society there would be no talk of sin and shame, but only of social and individual gain, even though the union of those who have procreated the child should prove to have

[9] Plato, *The Banquet.*
[10] Plato, *ibid.*

been based upon mutual illusion and should be followed by a speedy separation. Gladly would I encounter the woman who has had experience of several love-intimacies, each entered from genuine high-souled inclination, who, after a time of probation devoted to learning whether the qualities of her sexual partner seem likely to make a desirable fusion with her own for the biological purposes of procreation, should conceive and bear a child. The man perhaps will leave her after a time, causing her disillusionment and sorrow, but she will not for that reason renounce either love or subsequent motherhood, for the capacity for love of the healthy nature is immeasurable. Fate will perchance in the end reward this woman's faithfulness to her own ideal. Ultimately, it may be when she has become a mature and fully conscious human being, she will encounter her predestined soul-mate, to whom she is as indispensable as he to her. But such a life-history as this will become possible only in another sexual order than our own.

The leading task of a fully awakened racial consciousness is to study the conditions under which fine human beings can best be engendered, born, and reared. It must become the possible ideal of every woman, "to bring into the world a child that will climb vigorously from earth towards heaven."[11] This fundamental idea of all sexual reform will find general expression as soon as people come to realize the misery of our present sexual situation, to understand the nature of the sexual crisis. "It ought to be regarded as a self-evident duty on the part of the State and of the community at large to encourage the procreation of the fit."[12] In certain conditions an increase in the birth-rate is not only not dreaded, but is actually welcomed, as we see in the national pride at the increase of the population of Germany from forty millions in 1870 (identical at that date with the population of France which has since remained stationary) to sixty-five millions at the present day. In the popular imagination, this increase represents victory in a possible war, a victory won by German mothers. It is true that

[11] Kleist, *Briefe.*
[12] Brönner, *Ehe und Entwicklungslehre.*

certain political economists look with alarm upon this continued excess of births. But if there existed an official system of motherhood-protection, the regulation of the birth-rate would be in society's own hands, for motherhood-protection involves the right and the power to secure the practice of preventive sexual intercourse.

The obstacles in the way of sexual selection are the outcome of the existing economic order, which makes individual human beings dependent on other individuals. This relationship of dependence permeates the family as well; the child is dependent on the parents, the wife is dependent on the husband, those advanced in years are dependent on their children. Existences that belong to the future are imperiled when the parents become poor, when they have been poor from the first, or when they leave their children to shift for themselves. By natural law, the higher the type of organism, the more extended is the period during which the young need care. If the offspring of the higher animals are thrown upon their own resources early in life they inevitably perish. In so many families to-day the care of the offspring is left to chance, and the young have to provide for themselves long before they are really competent to do so. As a birthright, there must be secured to every human being, first, a sound constitution, his physical integrity; secondly, full opportunities for the cultivation of his most conspicuous aptitude, for the purposes of his life occupation; thirdly, the provision of suitable work; fourthly, social insurance against illness, accident, and old age; fifthly, in the case of women, their enrollment as mothers in the salaried service of the state. (Bellamy goes further than this, demanding the social maintenance of women, not merely as mothers, but simply on account of their sex.) Complete mutual economic independence would give free play to a genuine selection, for sexual unions would be the result of unhindered choice, and would be the outcome of true reciprocal sympathy and understanding. It must be regarded as almost insane to permit the passionate love of two healthy human beings to become extinct without their having, during the extremest ardency

of their desires, procreated a new life. Marriages in which the procreation of a new human being is regarded as a humdrum affair, or in which successful procreation is even considered a misfortune, are a regular part of our sexual order; on the other hand, the children of love, of true sexual selection, are outcasts, the best years of reproduction remain unutilized, and men enter the state of marriage at a comparatively advanced age and do not undertake the procreation of children until their powers have been debilitated by prolonged recourse to prostitution. In the interest of the race, when two strong, healthy, and fit human beings love one another, they should procreate children. The splendid possibilities for the improvement of the human stock are nullified by a moral code hostile to this most wonderful of all the manifestations of the World-will. What fine specimens of humanity might have been procreated by Richard Wagner, when a youth, in sexual union with Mathilde; what splendid children might such a man as Goethe have engendered while still a young man. But such choice pairs, instead of successfully perpetuating their type, are torn asunder, lead sterile lives through the decades of their prime; the men do not attain to marriage and therewith to procreation until comparatively advanced in years (as we see in the case of the very men we have named, Wagner and Goethe), while the women who were created to respond to the desires of these heroes and to join with them in the production of truly well-born specimens of our race are coerced into marriage with others. Precisely how these intellectual heroes would, in their prime, have acquitted themselves as progenitors, we are unable positively to determine, for hitherto such men have rarely, if ever, attained to procreation in suitable conditions, that is to say, in the early prime of manhood, and in sexual union with a beloved woman of their own high quality. Quite erroneously does Max Burckhardt write in a circular of inquiry: "The intellectuals of a nation should engender children of the spirit, and should leave to the common people the task of providing for the ordinary increase of the population." This view is utterly false, for its adoption would effect

an artificial elimination of the finest types of brain, and not infrequently of the heroic instincts as well. Burckhardt's view is that which finds expression in an old Indian proverb: "What need have those of offspring who have given their souls to the world?" This question might be answered as follows: "If not for their own need, then for the sake of all, in order that those fine natures thus able to give their soul to the world should perpetuate their type, and not leave the procreation of the coming race exclusively to persons of narrow nature." As Goethe writes: "Choice children might be born if the parents themselves were choice."[13] Bernard Shaw speaks yet more plainly, when he writes in "The Perfect Wagnerite," "The majority of men at present in Europe have no business to be alive; and no serious progress will be made until we address ourselves earnestly and scientifically to the task of producing trustworthy human material for society. In short, it is necessary to breed a race of men in whom the life-giving impulses predominate."

The question has been much disputed whether our race must to-day be regarded as degenerate. I do not think we can answer this with a simple affirmative or negative. Side by side with an indisputable degeneration of the many, we can perceive a higher and higher development of the few. Progress is no mere figment of the imagination. But this upward progress of our race is effected, if we may use the image, along a wide spiral curve, ascending very slowly and in face of innumerable obstacles. The true aim of all attempts at improving the world is to remove some of the obstacles and to steepen the gradient of the ascending curve.

Nature knows only effects and it is an error of judgment to see in nature a scheme of deliberate causation, the exercise of purpose for the attainment of a consciously perceived end. Teleology is the human privilege; it is man's part to endeavor to control the causes that produce the future. In all living creatures, a large proportion of their energies is wasted in a thankless task, in a struggle with their own forbears. People begin to recognize that

[13] "Man könnte erzogene Kinder gebären, wenn die Eltern erzogen wären."

the procreation of a new being is an extremely responsible act, and that vast numbers of individuals are quite unfitted for such responsibility. Those of future ages will probably be much astonished that there could ever have existed a time in which the most important of human actions, the one whose consequences are the most enduring of all, was left to individual caprice. We may go so far as to demand that the higher development of our race should be deliberately pursued by the restriction of parenthood to those human beings best fitted for this privilege. We recognize the first principle of racial improvement, not in the rearing of children, but in the production of the well-born. Coercive marriage must cease to be the ethico-social norm and the basis of procreative activity.

* * * * * * *

What is the significance of the religious need of humanity? A phrase of Nietzsche's may answer this question. "Man needs an aim, and would rather aim at nothing than not aim at all." Nothing short of a perdurable aim can satisfy the titanic yearning of our race. The moral struggle of mankind may be conceived as an endeavor to effect an inhibition of the individual will wherever this conflicts with the perdurable will. Herein is found the mainspring of religion. Hence, as the old creeds decayed, as the old tables of the law were broken, new religions came into being, new tables were graven. Some have seen in art, and others in science, an efficient substitute for religion. But in the writer's view nothing is competent to still this yearning, to provide a new religious aim, unless it reaches out beyond the moment of individual existence, reaches out into eternity, and yet remains all the while intimately associated with the individual life. What is there which can provide a fuller satisfaction of both these demands than the ideal of the biological perfectionment of the human type?

Reverence for procreation is the religion of the future. Here is the truly sacramental act and here the root of all enduring morality. Herein also we find the natural factor for the inhibition of the individual will, so important an element of all religions. Moreover, this inhibition is closely interwoven with the most characteris-

tic manifestation of individual egoism, for the object which is protected by this inhibition is the perpetuation of the individual ego. No effective moral law can have reference merely to the limited duration of the individual life; such laws must be applicable to the unlimited life of the species. This provides the justification for the restrictions which, in this respect, it is desirable to impose upon the freedom of the individual ego.

To enable this sentiment to become effectively religious, to enable it to assume the strength given by incorporation in an accepted moral code and the stability derived from being engraved upon the tables of the law, the average consciousness must be awakened and exercised about this matter. We are here concerned with mankind itself. Everything in the world over and above the raw material of nature comes into existence through the work of man. Man is at once operative and instrument, at once medium and creator. The actual quality of this operative, this instrument, this medium, this creator, is the ultimate condition of all such opportunities as the world holds for mankind. Upon the stuff of which man himself is made depends what man himself can make of the world. If he is blighted from birth, the world he creates for himself will be a blighted world. Hence his ultimate world-aim must be a delight in the creation of beautiful and fit human beings.

"You shall bear me a god upon earth!
Prometheus shall from his seat arise,
And to the earth-born race proclaim,
'Behold a man, the man of my desire.'"

The pursuit of this aim must become the animating will of every man, the privilege of every woman, the religious inspiration of both sexes alike.

* * * * * * *

The welfare of the race and the regulation of the sexual life of mankind are inseparable correlates. The quality of the race is

the direct outcome of the existing sexual morality, or, in other words, of the conventions by which, in any society, sexual relations are regulated and in obedience to which procreation is effected. The first foundation of all possible racial hygiene is the dominant sexual order of society; the principles of racial hygiene are deducible from the moral demands and the economic needs of the time. Thus the sexual order must make the aims of racial hygiene its own. In default of this, what is called a "sexual order" is a mere formula of social calculations, instead of being an instrument for the higher evolution of the species.

This idea of the higher evolution of the species must inspire all our lives and must animate the sexual struggle. Here is the ultimate secret, here is the divine aim, transcending the individual existence, an aim "not for an age, but for all time." Here can we found our new altars, worthy of the deepest reverence of which the human heart is capable. Here is the ideal of beauty which it is love's privilege to serve. Such is the thought expressed in the imperishable conversation between Socrates and Diotima:

"You are mistaken, Socrates, in thinking that Love serves Beauty."—"For what, then, does Love serve?"—"For the Procreation and Birth of the Beautiful."—"But wherefore the Act of Procreation?"—"Because the Act of Procreation is itself the Eternal and the Undying."

BOOK IX

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CONTEMPORARY HUMANITY

All the heavenly bodies revolve around something; they turn on their own axes; the moon revolves around the earth, the earth around the sun, the sun around a central sun, which itself revolves around another central sun of a greater and heavier order, and so on without end. A strange movement this. We see everywhere a general hatred of rectilinear motion. Life begins with a circle. Then follow the ellipse, the parabola and the hyperbola.

JULIUS FERN.—*Astronomical Causerie.*

CHAPTER XXVIII

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE SEXUAL STRUGGLE

The Factor of Struggle in Sex-Relationships. "Getting the Upper Hand." Who Pays Homage? The Frenzy of Misunderstanding. Psychical Fetichism of the Modern Man. His Misdirected and Inadequate Sexual Impulse. Love of Obscenity as an Equivalent for the Satisfaction of Such an Impulse. Sexual Exhaustion as a Sequel of Cerebral Exhaustion. The Ascetic Tendency.

KLEIST writes of reflection that we reflect better after action than before. Reflection before action is apt to weaken the intensity of the fine feelings that impel to action, whereas reflection after action teaches how to act better next time. These considerations apply to the amatory life. Reflectively to study the whole course of the relationship beforehand, to modify or repress the feelings in view of the results of this deliberative process, is frankly impossible. When, after experience, we deliberate *a posteriori,* we are in a position to recognize laws irrecognizable before, and the

disposition to action may thus be modified in readiness for the next case. So many dispositions, so many ways of love; and each pair of lovers has fresh sexual experiences. The more subtle the personalities of those concerned, and the more ardent their passions, the more intense is the struggle characteristic of every sexual relationship. Victory in this struggle implies, as Hilda Wangel puts it, "to get the upper hand." The one whose blood more quickly becomes heated, the one whose serenity of judgment is more readily clouded, is first conquered. Yet this loss of coolness, this troubling of the perfect clarity of the understanding, is the essential purpose of the whole experience. Thus the entire process of the movement tends to assume a hyperbolic form, becomes more and more "a strange movement"; those engaged in the sexual struggle pursue paths of extraordinary curve, and always there is "a general hatred of rectilinear movement."

Explanations of the torments and struggles of sexual love have been ardently sought by all creative spirits. Giordano Bruno, in his "*Eroici Furori*," contends that the essence of unhappy love is almost always to be found in the inferior quality of the object of love, whereby love reacts to unhappiness instead of to happiness. Another mystic, brother in spirit to Giordano Bruno, Maeterlinck, also ascribes the defective reaction, the sense of dissatisfaction of the lovers, to the incompleteness of the beloved. He writes: "However incomplete a being may be, he may be adequate to the love of a wonderful personality; but the most wonderful of beings cannot be adequate to the love of one whose personality is incomplete."

Love is, above all, a profound exercise of consciousness on the part of the lover about the beloved: all the lover's feelings are directed towards the beloved; the lover knows, or thinks he knows the beloved. Hence there has never existed an artist devoid of the capacity to love profoundly and to suffer intensely through love. In all religions, the divine, the undying element must always be embraced by the spirit, while that which is no more than "phallically engendered" must always perish. The ultimate problem of this whole struggle is, "Who pays homage"? He or she

who refuses it to one person may willingly and gladly yield it to another. But the true frenzy of sex depends upon the misunderstandings of the sexes. The writer of the love-tragedy of Penthesilea and Achilles has depicted this tragedy of sex as it affects two magnificent human types. But we need not soar so high as this in search of examples. The tragical and almost inevitable experience is portrayed in some light verses of Heine's: "A maychafer woos a fly, and the fly repels his advances. She does this only to tease, for one teases what one loves. But the unhappy maychafer takes the teasing in earnest, and flies off in a mood of bitter sorrow. Thereupon the fly pines away, failing utterly to understand why her lover has abandoned her, for in her heart all she had wished to say to him was, Wed me when you will. She awaits him, decked in her wedding garments. The bells are ringing, ding-dong, ding-dong; Where tarries my beloved bridegroom?"[1]

The outcome of this struggle depends upon incalculable forces, forces not of the environment only, but those of the individual human soul. The masculine soul, more especially, even when dominated by the most ardent desire, continues to strive against fulfillment, for a man still hopes in an ultimate corner of his mind that he will be able to "recover his balance." His desire is to remain free, and if he becomes bound it is in opposition to his fundamental egoistic will. But how, as Shaw phrases it, can woman attain to the pains of labor unless man is vanquished in this struggle?

Whether a man and a woman who join in love are in truth predestined mates, is decided by nature herself in the quality of their offspring. Physiological researches have shown that the finest offspring are produced when the parents do not resemble one another too closely, and when the stock is not weakened by in-and-in breeding. Cross-fertilization gives enhanced vital energy to the newly engendered individuals, and upon vital energy depends inborn fitness and therewith almost all else that matters in life. But when varieties too dissimilar or too closely similar are paired, "the

[1] *Die Launen der Verliebten.*

offspring displays characters that are mainly preparental, whilst the parental characters fail to find expression."[2] In such a case there is a reversion to obsolete types which are imperfectly adapted to present-day conditions.

Our modern decadents exhibit marked tendencies to both these extremes, inclining to pair with those too similar or with those too dissimilar. The blunted senses of the contemporary male are insufficiently stimulated in a union with his most favorable biological complement, and he finds such a union tedious. "The modern man," writes Bourget in his "Psychologie de l'amour moderne," "is an animal very readily bored, and he is willing to pay any price for a stimulus that will make his blood flow freely." If the man in search of erotic sensationalism were the only one to pay the price, there would be no objection to his giving this inclination free rein; but it is unfortunately from the race also, from the species as a whole, that payment is demanded. Stimulation in conditions inappropriate to racial purposes constitutes the most eagerly desired of the amatory life of our day.

In addition, the modern man commonly suffers from a peculiar form of sexual dependence. In almost all men, willingness to love and capacity for love are dependent upon some special fetich, and erotic sensibilities can be aroused only by some peculiar shade of sensation. I am speaking less of bodily fetichism (for we have nothing to do here with cases that concern the sexual psychopath) than of mental fetichism. A man demands some particular attraction, some peculiar quality of the soul, and upon its discovery his entire sexuality is dependent, to the obscuration of the natural racial instinct. Robert Müller writes: "When the quality which has become a fetich, be that quality physical or mental, attains such a power over the perceptions that all other qualities seem unimportant in comparison, it is no longer possible to speak of the existence of sexual health." Now there are few men to-day who are not fetich-ridden in the sense thus defined. Women, though they experience the working of this morbid development of mascu-

[2] Robert Müller, *Sexualbiologie.*

line psychology, do not know where to seek help or counsel. They rarely understand why their hopes end in illusion. Their own sexual life, when compared with that of men, is for the most part healthy, and they seldom recognize that they have to do with a greatly morbid manifestation of the masculine soul, whose consequences become partially apparent to them only after they have entered into an intimate sexual relationship. But owing to the prevalence of these fetichistic leanings, women endowed with some marked or peculiar mental or physical quality are victors to-day in the sexual struggle, for they always find some man to whom this peculiarity makes its special appeal; whereas those who are biologically and physiologically far more integral personalities are apt to remain in sexual isolation. The writer, who has made observations in hundreds of such cases, believes herself to have discovered, in this peculiar working of the fetichistic impulse of the modern male, a new law which plays a great part in the sexual life of our day.

We can hardly fail to recognize as a manifestation of the sexual need which is no longer competent to find its normal outlet, the inclination to take a light view of sexual matters, the tendency to consider in a spirit of mockery that great and terrible whole which is our sexual life. Where the sexual impulse lacks strength to express itself in regular channels, it is apt to find an outlet for the remnant of its energies in coarse sexual jokes. This view is shared by Heinrich Pudor, who writes: "The love of obscenity is the natural product and the inevitable accompaniment of sexual incapacity due to cerebral exhaustion. . . . In fact, we are generally able to observe that men with a taste for obscene jests, men who take a light view of sensual matters, are lacking in freshness and richness of the intellectual and emotional life, just as much as they are lacking in sexual receptivity and sensual capacity."

A still more disagreeable accompaniment or consequence of cerebral exhaustion is the ascetic tendency so fashionable to-day. In his essay upon ascetic ideals, Nietzsche quotes Buddha in the following terms: "Narrow and confined," he reflected, "is life in a

house; it is a condition of uncleanness. We find freedom in abandoning the house. Thinking thus, Buddha abandoned houses." But Nietzsche held that those who go out into the desert in order to find freedom are strong, not in spirit, but in folly; and he finds yet more decisive terms of disapprobation for the ascetics whose aim is chastity, speaking of them, for instance, as "unhappy swine." It cannot be doubted that Nietzsche is not far from the truth in his characterization of the ascetic impulse, usually the outcome of an unfortunate and contaminated impulsive life. "Between chastity and sensuality there is no necessary opposition; every good marriage, every true union of lovers, attains to a level superior to any such contrast."[3]

The men who have denied the beauty of the life of the senses have always been persons with a weak sexual impulse or with blunted sexual sensibilities. In debilitating and chronic diseases, the energy of the sexual impulse declines. One of the commonest of all states of debility is that known by the name of neurasthenia, and this morbid condition affects the energies of the reproductive glands upon whose integrity depends the vigor of the sexual impulse. Every ardent lover of freedom is animated, whether he desire it or not, by a strong and normal impulse towards union with the other sex. As Bachofen phrases it, carnal emancipation and political emancipation are twin brethren. The ascetic tendency, which leads to an unending struggle with the ever-resurgent sexual impulse, fights against the soundest instincts of the race.

* * * * * * *

Another morbid manifestation of the sexual life that demands attention here is the existence in men or in women of a tacit disinclination or of a positive antipathy towards the other sex. Misogyny, in especial, is widely prevalent. A woman is scornfully spoken of as a man-hater, a misandrist, if she is unwilling to pervert the truth in man's favor, but man's hatred of woman, genuine misogyny, is often instinctive.

Misogyny finds expression in all languages and in all literatures

[3] *Genealogie der Moral.*

of the world, and we often observe that men who are in reality least able to do without women are preëminently affected with the misogynist spirit. Such a monomania as that of Strindberg is always tragieal; and tragical was the fate of Strindberg's disciple, the young Weininger, who sealed by suieide his renuneiation of woman.

The metaphysieal foundation of misogyny may perhaps lie in the instinetive dread of the man who finds that his intellectual nature is being threatened by the dominance of sensual impressions. For this very reason, this form of sex-hatred is apt to manifest itself in those whose personalities are least resistant to the invasion of sensual impressions, those who are ineompetent to insulate the intellectual from the sensual and the sensual from the intelleetual. Strindberg's own avowals suffiee to show how a misogynist's sufferings are the produet of his own temperament. Such misogyny as his, tantamount to monomania, no longer inspires aversion, but rather arouses eompassion. The following quotation is finely illustrative of this temperament, so disastrous to its possessor, and throws light at the same time on the profoundly mystical character of the misogynist proeess. "There is a woman whose proximity is intolerable to me, but whom I love when she is at a distanee. We exehange letters, whieh are always considerate and affectionate. When for a time we have longed for one another and finally meet, we immediately begin to quarrel, beeome out of tune and unsympathetic, and part in anger. Our love is on a high plane, and yet we eannot bear to be in the same room together. We dream of meeting one another again, dematerialized, upon some green isle whieh will exist for us two alone, or at most for our ehild as well. I reeall one-half hour in which we three were in aetual faet walking upon a green islet near the sea eoast. It was as if we were in heaven. Then the elock struck noon, in a moment we were on earth, and a moment after in hell."

CHAPTER XXIX

THE SEXUAL PSYCHOLOGY OF THE MALE

"The Child in Man." Man's Suggestibility; His Greed of Possession, and His Lust of Destruction. "Men About Town." The Woman Who Woos and Her Inevitable Ultimate Failure. The Frigid Woman and Her Success with the Modern Man. Consequences to the Family and to the Race of the Artificial Selection of Frigid Women. "Man, the Murderer." Great Lovers: Bismarck, Wagner, Goethe. Grillparzer as a Precursor of Kierkegaard. "Forget Not Thy Whip." Victory of the Megaera-Amazon-Fury Type. "Yes, Darling, Do Go on Talking!" The New Woman and Her Failure to Find a Mate. Seduction, an Art of the Future.

In works by male authors we are apt to be told that woman, and especially woman in love, is "the most inconsequent, illogical, and incredible of beings—one upon whom absolutely no calculations can be based."[4] Yet, as we learn from every-day experience, man, far more often than women, is the primal source of the sorrows, disillusionments, and unending troubles of love. Nietzsche recommended women "to learn to recognize the child in man." The most striking characteristic that man actually shares with the child is the remarkable susceptibility of both to the influence of suggestion. Man is also endowed with a considerable element of childish greed, the greed of acquirement, the greed of possession, so long as his desire is resisted; while he shares also with the child the impulse to spoil or to throw away his new possession when its first freshness has worn off, and when the novelty of ownership has begun to stale. Especially dangerous in its influence upon the emotional temperament of the male is woman's faculty for self-surrender. Women in whom this tendency to self-surrender is in-

[4] Bourget, *Psychologie de l'amour moderne.*

surmountable may well be advised to do their utmost to direct it into the channels of friendship, philanthropy, and even love of pets; for if there is no other way out it is better to bestow this kind of tenderness upon a favorite cat or a lap-dog than to bestow it without limit upon a man. In respect of letter-writing a similar recommendation may be made. If a woman has written a passionate love-letter, and cannot bring herself to commit it to the flames, let her post it without delay to some woman friend upon whom it will work no harm.

A man who exploits and then basely deserts a woman of noble and self-sacrificing type will often be enslaved by a woman of a thoroughly meretricious character, for such a woman has more understanding of the peculiarities of the masculine temperament, and more inclination to turn them to account. In "Lebemänner" ["Men About Town"], Raoul Auernheimer depicts a number of intimacies with women of this type, all of which end in the victory of the women over the men of manifold sexual experiences. The man who wishes to break off the intimacy is met first with threats of suicide, and there follow scenes of increasing violence, ending in recourse to physical force. Holding a flask of vitriol in one hand, with the other the woman administers vigorous boxes on the ear, until she has safely steered her man into the haven of marriage.

On the other hand, a woman is lost from the first instant in which she becomes the desirous one, the one who woos. Let him have gone to see her a hundred times of his own spontaneous wish, let it happen on the hundred and first occasion that he goes because she wishes it, he will never forget his complacence, and will always consider the woman in his debt. Herein seems to be exercised over men a kind of metaphysical coercion. It is no radical infirmity or malignity of the will which makes a man's ardency begin to cool directly the woman's yearnings come to exceed his own in intensity; man seems to be subject, in this respect, to a *force majeure* stronger than his own will. It is only the strongest impulse of his own nature, the impulse to the discharge of sexual

tensions, which makes him temporarily dependent upon a woman; and the more the erotic need and erotic faculty of the male dwindle, the more the incapacity for love under whose sign the modern man stands increases, the more conspicuous will become the alienation between the sexes, and the more urgent the sexual crisis. Man's enduring need is for the married woman, his publicly recognized female associate and indispensable auxiliary in the administration of his life; it is in the fulfillment of this function that he still has the securest vital prospects. Next to the wife, as far as man's need is concerned, comes the prostitute. But more and more superfluous becomes the beloved, the lady of a man's heart, whom the chivalrous knight of old worshiped, whose favor he wore, and in whose service he did noble deeds.

* * * * * * *

There is a kingdom awaiting conquest by human beings who are free from all pathological taint, whose souls are not full of blind spots, or of oubliettes into whose abysses one may stumble unawares—human beings with whom is possible an intercourse at once ardent, secure, and natural. A few quotations will suffice to show how ill-adapted are most modern men for such ardent, secure, and unconstrained intercourse.

"Concerning women's moods. The stimulating moods of beauty are: the blasé, the bored, the boastful, the shameless, the frosty, the supercilious, the masterful, the strong-willed, the ill-natured, the invalidish, the catty, the childlike, the admixture of indifference and malice." (Beaudelaire.)

"A woman who does not love men, but who fetters their senses by playing on their jealousy, leads them whither she will." (Bourget.)

"Whichever of a pair is the less fond always dominates the other. Clever women soon learn to stimulate by coldness." (Keben, "Adam gegen Eva.")

"Women bind men to their side, not by what they give, but by what they refuse."

What do such propositions prove? They prove how lamentably

suggestible is the masculine spirit, which has thus to be managed by fraud, and they show that the women who exercise a lasting influence upon men of such a type are themselves furthest removed from true feminine nobility. Such women are of two classes: on the one hand, the cocotte; and on the other hand, the constitutionally frigid woman to whom refusal is second nature. The serious matter is that such frigid women readily attain to marriage and to procreation; whereas healthier and more ardent women, those who give themselves freely and are therefore more genuinely woman, rarely succeed (unless by the use of perverse arts) in effecting permanent sexual associations with such men as predominate to-day. Consequently, the comparatively ardent women tend to be excluded from reproductive activity. It is true that women of frigid nature cannot permanently satisfy men's erotic need; and the very man who has for a time been strongly attracted by a woman's coldness, and has been induced thereby to enter the bonds of marriage, will be very likely, in subsequent years, to repair to the brothel for sexual gratification. A German statistical inquiry showed that the majority of the men who visit brothels are not single, but married. Thus a direct consequence of the attraction primarily exercised by the frigid woman (frigid by nature or by art) upon the degenerate male of our day is apt to be the transference to the bosom of the family of the venereal diseases which men who are not fully gratified in conjugal intercourse acquire in their visits to the brothel.

In view of this profound defect in the soul of the modern decadent, we may well maintain that a fit and healthy woman, in her choice of a sexual partner, should be influenced by the following considerations: 1. Has the man proved himself fit in the struggle for existence? 2. Is he of good biological type? 3. Is his social character sound and trustworthy? 4. Above all, will he bring to his wife strong and unimpaired love-sentiments? All other possible considerations, the demand for intellectual distinction, spiritual subtlety and the like, lead only, as we see every day, to dangerous complications. It is true that when such refinements

of soul and spirit are offered in supplement to the fundamental qualities above enumerated, they should be greeted with joy, and the woman upon whom these gifts are bestowed may well sing Hallelujah. But the day on which such a man is to be encountered would seem to have hidden itself in one of those intercalary years which come but once a century.

* * * * * * *

To forestall the possible criticism that the views here expressed regarding the modern male are those of a woman only, a man's testimony may be quoted.

MAN THE MURDERER

By Hermann Brunold

"To me last night, lying asleep,
a dream there came heavy with pain of death. . . .

"I had a wife, of kind and lofty nature,
beautiful, . . . a noble mother's ripest fruit;
her glance was blessing . . . heavenward her speech,
like a pure flame she took her path through life. . . .
The best of all the men in all the world
was yet unworthy mate of such a soul.—

"This woman was my wife.—After a day of joy,
peacefully by my side she lay in sleep.—

"Full evil, I, and seized with wicked rage,
possessed with fury, like a man,
the primal rage of man the murderer,
with my strong hands I strangled her pure soul.—

"My very hands exhale of her the fragrance, . . .
as axe that felled an aromatic tree,
though murderous, exhales the odour of the tree.—

"My very hands exhale of her the fragrance."

* * * * * * *

There have been great lovers, veritable heroes of love, but they are rare figures through the ages. Such a lover was Bismarck; such was Richard Wagner, one who knew to the uttermost how to make a woman his own and how to guard faithfully the treasure he had acquired; such was Lenau; such, above all, was Goethe. It is one of the stupidest of literary lies which maintains that Goethe was a sort of Don Juan, hurrying on from one woman to another. On the contrary, Goethe loved always deeply, always truly, and in most cases unhappily. The legend that he was a Don Juan is the outcome of that shop-keeping view of love to which reference has previously been made, of the notion that a man's love or a woman's love is an exhaustible commodity, so that if a certain quantity is bestowed on one person there remains less to bestow upon another. Or perhaps we may say that the legend arises from the hypocrisy which pretends that one in whose long life-history there is record of a number of well-loved names must be of a light butterfly nature trifling from flower to flower. These false views need not detain us further. Goethe had no desire to seek the end sought by his own Werther; he wished to live and to grow, unhappy love notwithstanding. Hence, ever and ever again, with abundant and rejuvenating energy, we see him striving after that possibility of happiness which love alone can offer to mortal men. In each one of his successive love-relationships his emotional force was invincible; he was the profoundest and most wonderful lover of whom history gives any record. "He moved among the women who responded to his passion as the sun moves through the zodiacal constellations."[5] In view of such a phenomenon we reëcho his own words:

"Stilled is the ache of troubled earthly feelings,
Into a cloud-couch is transformed the tomb,
Softened we feel life's every undulation,
Day becomes joyful and the night grows clear."

* * * * * * *

[5] Agnes Harder, *Liebe.*

How different a picture is that offered by the amatory life of Grillparzer. Here we find an early manifestation of the sexual struggles of the decadent, living a life of friction, a torment to himself and others. The entries in his journal during May, 1826, remind us of Kierkegaard's "A Seducer's Diary." Grillparzer writes: "Although it was my capricious resolve not to take possession of the girl [Kathi Fröhlich] through whom I had been thrown into this painful condition, I had continually to struggle against the recurring excitement. The stream of passion which flowed ever from my being towards the innocent girl ultimately set her also in movement and produced all the characteristic expressions of unsatisfied sexual love. She became suspicious, snappish, and even quarrelsome; and in this way was disturbed the perfect balance of her mental composition upon which her incomparable beauty had depended." Here we have the confession of one who is a Don Juan "from caprice." We have to recognize a very different type of Don Juan in the born libertine, a type which, to quote Bernard Shaw, "is hardly more interesting than that of the sailor with a wife in every port."

Altogether different from these Don Juans are those, women as well as men, who would rather continue to yearn for the unattainable than remain in comparative peace in a possibly permanent relationship. Those endowed with this temperament lead wild lives without fully understanding why, pursuing an aim that ever eludes the grasp, and often finding misery. Such fates are common to-day. The general complexity of temperaments makes it increasingly difficult for people to find their predestined mate, with whom they can happily join in permanent union for the perpetuation of the species.

* * * * * * *

We now come to a branch of our subject with which we shall make no attempt to deal exhaustively, since we are not concerned with clinical details; but it must be considered in outline, inasmuch as it throws a light upon the peculiar difficulties of the modern spirit. We refer to the existence of perversities and perver-

sions which are widely diffused throughout all classes of society, greatly impairing the chances of attaining to a satisfactory sexual life. "Every perversity," writes Hirth, "may result either from excess or from defect of sexual energy." Defect is certainly the commoner cause. Modern men are predominantly masochist. Ignoring severe pathological instances, we need refer only to the prevalence of spiritual masochism. "In visiting woman, forget not thy whip," writes Nietzsche. With more justice we might reverse the phrase, saying, "if you visit a man, forget not your whip." A woman who proves unamiable and unloving; one who torments, tyrannizes, and exploits; one who is frigid; one even who deceives—is not the woman most likely to be abandoned. But countless women are abandoned because they are too ardent, too tender, too loving, too true, too self-sacrificing.

In the days when men could gain possession of women only through the violence of rape, masochism was impossible. Men endeavored to coerce women, to make prizes of them, but the sex-rôles in this respect were never reversed. To-day, however, when man has become the prize, when woman, if she is to be enabled to procreate under socially and legally recognized conditions, must become a hunter of men, man feels that he must at least become the prize of the proudest and strongest of the huntresses. From this peculiar perversion of sex-relations, from this remarkable development of the struggle for existence, there has resulted an inevitable corruption of the essential nature of womanliness. In literature, homage is still paid to the primal ideal of the self-sacrificing and self-surrendering woman, but in actual practice the triumph is allotted to women of the masterful type, to the Amazon or to the Megaera. Of this type there are numerous variations, but the most successful of all is the frigid hetaira variety. Owing to her insensibility, to her own inner aloofness, she is mistress of the situation. Her very failure to make erotic demands, her essential coldness and passivity, inflame the ardency of men of the type we are considering. As a man's mistress, such a woman can exploit him with the most finished art. Speaking generally,

however, the women who have the greatest success with modern man are those in whom the type of the Megaera is intermingled with that of the hetaira. The genuine Fury is victor on this field. Not an obviously alarming or repellent type of woman, for the Furies of Greek mythology were half divine, but irascible, imperious, masterful women, full of claims, and at the same time competent to arouse ardent passion. These it is who appeal most strongly to the exhausted sexual impulse of the male. Man now seeks a severe mistress, one whose dominion he will be unable to escape; and a woman constitutionally averse to such a rôle will commonly prove a woman misused. This peculiar direction of the male sexual impulse is explicable through the suggestion of security imposed by the proximity of strong and severe natures. We incline to trust them, to believe that they have clear views, and that they know exactly what they want. Another type of woman very comforting to man is that of the "hail-fellow-well-met." By a subflavor of suggestion, contact with this type induces in him the idea of a mother, the sort of mother that everyone would like to have had, strong, and leading onward.

The need for assuming a dominant pose may, however, be educative in a good sense, and may lead to a subjective strengthening of the individuality. The secret of such wholesome dominion is, when in love, to remain supreme over love. One who loves must give freely, must be freely self-sacrificing, but never in a groveling spirit. One who while loving remains supreme over love, radiates from the personality an influential energy, and this can be done by one who in other respects may appear insignificant. What we love in the beloved, what we permanently prize, is the independence of the innermost recesses of the personality, of that central nucleus of individuality which preserves its essential qualities unchanged even amid the furnace-heat of love. But this power of preserving one's own individuality intact must never be confused with the constitutional coldness that forbids an ardent self-surrender and renders impossible a delicate mutual interpermeation with another. To the beloved, the lover should be prepared

to grant all, reserving only this, consent to assume an attitude of self-abasement. To give everything, except one's own self-respect; to claim nothing, in the sense of becoming absolutely dependent upon what the other may be willing to grant: this is the device of love. It is the other's affair freely and spontaneously to counter gift with gift. Hence the victory of "love that laughs," the defeat of "love that weeps." Dangerous above all is it that a woman should allow herself to be molded by a man, for this repels him almost against his will. A woman much more readily can endure complete self-surrender on the part of a man, indeed she is often greatly moved by it, and inspired with the most tender sentiments. In any case, a woman loves that a man should continue to woo her; but the woman who continues to woo plays a losing game.

In contrast with the dominant type of woman, there is a second type, of which the modern man is apt to be greatly enamoured, and this is the passive, the suffering type of woman. The woman who moves his feelings controls him almost as effectively as the woman who tyrannizes over him. But the woman with whom he finds himself altogether out of tune is one who neither tyrannizes nor arouses compassion, but is ardent, free, and healthy. The woman who suffers, even if plainly stamped by physical delicacy, often proves extraordinarily alluring. But in one way only she must not suffer, and that is at the hands of the man himself, for this would be a reproach to him—a thing he cannot bear. "Maiden, never let me see the tears you weep on my account," we read in a poem by Jakobsen.

A natural and healthy human relationship, one in which both partners are equally tender and equally ardent, is a thing we more and more rarely encounter. A woman who wishes neither to inflict pain nor to suffer pain is to modern man a most questionable shape. Possibly the woman to get on best with man would be one who would never take him quite in earnest—in view, perhaps, of the survival of the "child in man," a child to be managed always by suggestion and never by open direct means. In this connection we recall the expression which in "Man and Superman" is again

and again used by Ann, the heroine, to the hero, John Tanner, the Revolutionist: "Yes, darling, do go on talking!" That is, "Talk as long as you like; like a child, pour out everything that comes into your mind; not for a single moment do I take you seriously, and for that very reason I can make you do whatever I like. . . . Yes, darling, do go on talking."

* * * * * * *

"It is greatly to be hoped that good fortune will one day bring to your home a woman gifted with all good gifts of heart and understanding; that you may have cause for wonder and rejoicing as the great possibilities of glory, happiness, and love, pass before your eyes. But your eyes will be blind to their passing unless in everyday life you have learned to know and to love these gifts." The spiritual blindness of which Maeterlinck here speaks wrecks the chances of happiness, not alone for the men who suffer from it, but for the women also with whom these men come in contact. Numerous indeed are the men who lack the very beginnings of the power to understand the individuality of women of the higher type; and rarer still are those competent to understand such women to the full, and therewith truly to enjoy them. It happens that in our day the regeneration of one sex is coincident with the manifest degeneration of the other. Victims of this state of affairs are the so-called new women, those exceptionally active specimens of womanhood filled with the joy of life, who blossom among us in ever-increasing numbers, but most of whom fail to obtain the right companion. The tragedy of their lives is that they have been born too soon. Well for them if like the princess in the fairy tale they could have slept for a hundred years in a thicket of brier-roses, until the time came to each in which the right man could awaken her. But not until men are enfranchised from the savage economic corvée of our day will those arise who can be fit companions for women of the new time. For the new woman the man of the old school is impossible; not merely because she has no desire to be his mate, but because to him, in turn, she represents an insoluble problem. New men are, indeed, to be found, fit mates for

the women of the new time, but so few are they in number that they can bring happy life-fulfillment only to rare and isolated women. Usually a woman strong in temperament, yearning for love, never becomes enabled to sing, "I have the best of comrades, the best in all the world. . . ." It rather happens that after every fresh attempt to attain to a natural destiny, after every new endeavor to gain that love's fulfillment for which a young and healthy spirit craves, a woman finds herself forced to echo the words of Siegfried when his invocation on the flute has evoked a dreadful phantom: "Is this what my song has wafted me? You would prove an evil life-companion!"

* * * * * * *

In sex relationships there are certain phenomena of primeval activity with which we moderns have become altogether out of tune. One of these is the idea of seduction. Flaubert writes: "The only complaint I have to make against prostitution is that it is a myth. Great prostitutes are as rare to-day as consecrated prostitutes." In similar words, the only complaint I have to make against the seducer is that he is a myth—that he does not exist any longer, in the truly seductive sense. Now, as of old, there are tricksters in love, adventurers and cheats, who gain their end by false representations. But the seducer, the wooing seducer to joy, the man who makes it easy for a woman to give herself; one who, using the true art of love, can bring hours wherein life, love-intoxicated, becomes a festival of joy—such a man is not of our day. In a morbid frame of mind, with a tortured conscience, with endless theoretical discussions of the whole question, and with ever-repeated flights from danger, does the man of to-day lay siege to a woman. Should he at length attain his end, the morrow invariably brings moralizing reflections, and after a few such morrows, he will "regain self-mastery," flee from the Hörselberg, and go on his way purified, feeling for the partner of his stolen joys the appropriate mood of contempt.

The art of seduction is one for the future to create—a more refined seduction than that of old, when the lover said: "Give

me thy hand, beloved, To my castle come with me." No false promises on one side, no claims on the other, and no dread of impending evil on either (as "expiation for sin"). Gentle and gracious mutual self-surrender in joyful mood, and a happy downsitting together to the feast of love which only man and woman can provide each for the other—such will be the new art of love. In this joyful courtship, it will once again become possible and permissible for a man to be a seducer, playing man's part to make manifest to woman all the beauty and all the spiritual enfranchisement of the erotic process. For this is man's true rôle. In very physical characteristics man is impetuous and active, is the one to make advances; whereas woman, even though she longs for the intimate embrace, inclines to hesitation and recoil. This instinctive recoil is less, perhaps, from the immediate act of sex than from its possible outcome. It is man's part, therefore, to overcome this hesitation, to "seduce," to allure, to woo, to charm the woman's imagination with entrancing visions, until, attraction overcoming repulsion, her soul rushes to meet his and they mingle like two flames.

BOOK X

OUR SEXUAL MISERY

We offer to thee here neither lamb nor steer,
Countless human victims here are slain.

GOETHE.

CHAPTER XXX

THE JUSTIFICATION OF THE SEXUAL LIFE

The General State of Sexual Privation. Disturbances in Animals Due to Sexual Abstinence. The Need to Leave Offspring is a Dictum of All Civilized Peoples.

ACCORDING to Buddhist teaching, the two chief causes of the misery of this life are lust and ignorance. It would be just as reasonable to say that hunger and thirst are the cause of all our misery. In all savage races we encounter the same idea that sexual relationships are unclean; and by all those religions which view life as itself a punishment the pleasures of the senses are regarded with profound disfavor. The mother of Buddha had no other son, and her conception was effected by supernatural causes. The Christian mystery of the Incarnation through the Holy Ghost is but another form of the old Asiatic idea of a Redeemer of mankind conceived without sin.

But "lust and ignorance" are part of our common inheritance, and it is impossible to think sanely of a humanity freed from this inheritance. Moreover, it is not the body alone which needs satisfaction for the desires of the body; there is also a spiritual need,

a need of that soul which is so intimately connected with the body that it is possible to regard it as no more than an emanation of the body. Where lie the boundaries between body and soul is precisely known only to those mystics who know also the whole geography of the spiritual world, those fully prepared to guide trustful strangers on the path to Nirvana. Such knowledge is not ours. All that we can do is to hold fast to experience, for to us it is only the manifestations of our own desires and needs which throws light upon their nature. The source of our misery is not the existence of such desires, but the denial of their satisfaction. If sexual pleasures were not "preordained," the "Divine Creator" would not have provided us with the organs of sex. An overplus of sexual energies is not infrequently the mainspring of the most wonderful phenomena of the world of the senses. For example, the brilliant coloring of many animals is an outcome of sexual energy, exists for sexual ends. Nor can the writer agree that sexual renunciation is favorable to the higher creative activities, that it is advantageous for the performance of deeds that make life richer for us all. The hallucinations of the eremites in the desert were the product of the attempt to kill sex, but these hallucinations and these attempts failed utterly to make life richer or better. In the full current of erotic experience, the birds give utterance to their wonderful love-songs; influenced by the like impulse, our great artists have seen visions and have found energy and fire enabling them to transmit these visions in permanent form to posterity. Without beauty, there would not occur in the artist that accumulation of living energy whose surplus finds expression in art. Such an accumulation of living energy must necessarily precede all creative work; and of all that is beautiful on earth, there is nothing so beautiful as the experience of love.

In the various chapters of this book we have displayed the existence of an organized system, operative in manifold ways throughout the sexual order of the modern civilized world, whereby the human sexual life is coerced into forms which conflict with its most natural purposes, and tend more and more to deprive human

beings of sexual freedom. The far-reaching effects of this sexual crisis influence the life of every individual among us. Human beings fully equipped by inheritance and by education for a normal erotic life are excluded from the proper satisfaction of the most natural and the most urgent of all vital needs, that of sex. Denial to the right of the life of sex—it is hardly possible to conceive the horror of such a fate! When we remember that in the lower animals, as we learn from physiological experiment, the removal of portions of the heart, the lungs, the liver, the spleen, the stomach, the intestines, the kidneys, and even the testicles, does not prevent the proper performance of the sexual act, and when we remember that human beings whose organs are all intact, whose health is perfect, whose physical and mental qualities are thoroughly normal, often have sexual abstinence forced upon them, we begin to understand what this condition of sexual privation may mean. In animals, sexual privation gives rise to "hysterical" symptoms. "If healthy cows rut at the usual time of year and are not covered by the bull, . . . various morbid symptoms may occur . . . there is enduring sexual desire . . . which may be quiet or noisy in its manifestations. . . . Mares that are not fertilized sometimes pass into a condition of continuous rut, and then suffer from muscular twitchings, cramps, and palpitation. In the further course of the disease, serious debility ensues. . . . In some cases the symptoms disappear as soon as the mares are covered. In male animals, in similar conditions, softening of the spinal cord and epilepsy may ensue."[1] Among the means recommended by veterinary surgeons for the relief of such conditions, the first and most important is that "opportunity should be given for the natural satisfaction of the love-impulse." An especial characteristic of the disease in cattle and in horses is, we are told, baulking or jibbing, that is, an obstinate refusal to perform even a moderate amount of work. As regards wild animals in captivity, it is generally understood that they must not be forcibly deprived of opportunities for sexual gratification; we

[1] Dr. W. Hammer, *Enthaltsamkeitsstörungen bei Haustieren.*

pair them in cages lest they should perish. Yet surely we should regard it as just as unnatural to enforce sexual privation upon men and women.

"In human beings," writes Robert Müller in his "Sexualbiologie," "as in the higher animals in general, the sexual impulses (the impulse towards the other sex, maternal affection, broodiness in birds, and the impulse to lactation in mammals) are dependent upon the energy of growth of the reproductive glands." The full development of these reproductive glands at a certain age is a vital fact of experience, and no less obvious to all are the results of this development upon the organism as a whole—as seen in the physical and mental changes that occur at puberty. It is impossible that a sexual order which forces us to misunderstand, to despise, or to ignore these elementary facts, and which makes the gratification of a primary natural need dependent upon countless conditions difficult of attainment, can be a sound one.

Marshall reports of the South African tribe of Todas: "There is among them no class of unmarried persons to disturb the whole community by their intrigues and contentions." Happy savages! To primitive man and to most of the older civilizations it seemed self-evident that every human being should form a union with one of the opposite sex, and it is only among the white races of modern Europe that this primal need is disregarded. In earlier times the practice of ancestor-worship imposed the positive duty of leaving offspring to continue this cult. Among the Semites of old, one unwilling to marry was regarded as disgracing the image of God, and at twenty marriage was enforced on youths by law. The Hindoos of to-day regard a bachelor as a profoundly unnatural being who threatens the peace of society; and they compassionate the restless souls of youths "who have died before becoming fathers . . . like persons with an enormous burden of debt which they are unable to pay." Childlessness is the greatest misfortune possible to a Persian. "To the childless, the entrance to Paradise is closed. Access is by way of a bridge, where the angel on guard puts to all comers the same question, whether they have

left representatives on earth, and the way is barred to those unable to give an affirmative answer.'' Beneath such religious superstitions there lies a fount of primal wisdom. There is nothing new under the sun, nor is there need for anything entirely new. Our motherhood movement—the cry for help that rises to-day from so many women, this newest of all revolutions, the longing to break the tables of the law of the existing sexual order—does not need, at this late hour in human history, to fashion forth new tables. In the wisdom of the religious writings of old, in the secrets of the papyri and in the half-defaced carven inscriptions of classical antiquity, we find expressed this yearning of ours, a yearning as old as the conscious life of mankind, but awakening to-day to renewed vigor in the demand for elementary human rights.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE CAUSES OF OUR SEXUAL MISERY

Capitalism the Root of the Evil. Emasculation Through Capitalism. Marriage as an Institution for the Elderly. Why Innumerable Persons Fail to Discover Sexual-Complements. The Alpha and Omega of Sexual Misery: Vitiated Selection.

The capitalist economic order has been shown to be the root-cause of the evil, concentrating ownership of the means of production into the hands of the few, and imposing upon men hindrances to marriage and reproduction at an appropriate age. Through the reduction of the average income of the lower middle class to the minimum which suffices for the adequate maintenance of a single individual, there results for this class a phenomenon which also universally characterizes the proletariat, namely, that the individual worker, working to the maximum of his physical and mental output, can provide no more than the bare essentials of food, clothing and shelter.

When we pass to the higher levels of the middle class, when the circumstances are exceptionally favorable, and when those concerned have made much effort and many sacrifices, there may be a little left over to spend upon reading matter, the theater, and a brief summer holiday. But the income even of mature men does not suffice to provide for a normal sexual life and for the upbringing of children. Thus capitalism simply emasculates this class of society. A young man's income is insufficient, the question of marriage apart, merely to support a woman during the period in which, by pregnancy and child-birth, she is necessarily prevented from earning money; hence any procreative intimacy with a woman entirely without means is absolutely out of the question

if those concerned would escape the miseries of utter poverty. All that capitalism allows to the young man is now and again a spare dollar for intercourse with a prostitute, so that he can waste his procreative energies in an artificially sterilized soil.

The demand for independent remunerated work for women was the last despairing effort to find escape from the sexual misery thus imposed on both sexes. Capitalism smiled. Two could now be set to work instead of one, and the wage could without difficulty be subdivided into two unequal portions, whose total sum barely exceeded the amount previously paid for the man's sole efforts—at any rate, barely exceeded this in purchasing power if due allowance were made for the progressive increase in the cost of the necessaries of life. Women's labor is not and never can be the means to render motherhood possible; for it is absolutely out of the question that the pregnant woman, the parturient woman, the woman recently delivered, and the woman responsible for the care of the young infant, should engage in the fierce struggle for bread. When a woman lies torn and bleeding, or when under dread of imminent death she is about to bring a new human life into the world, can we ask of her to earn money? Remunerated work for women is no doubt essential to help them to independence when they are free from the claims made upon them by the work of procreation and of motherhood. But when these claims become operative, a woman's own existence and the costly life of the new human being must be specially safeguarded, and this by a higher authority and by a more adequate power than those of the individual man upon whom her motherhood immediately depends.

It is in the case of the young that the sexual misery of our day is so immeasurable. Men and women alike, healthy, normal, fitly impulsive human beings in the first vigor of youth, cannot wait for experience of the amatory life until, when the hair is gray, circumstances first become suitable. In the young this desire flames; to them love is as a melody running through every current of life. All the years from twenty to thirty are fulfilled

with passionate desire, and it is during this decade that the misery is most intense which results from the bad conditions in which the love-need finds satisfaction. To leave the sexual impulse unsatisfied involves simply—continuous sexual excitement. To satisfy the impulse is to obtain liberation from an otherwise enduring torment. Hence it is obvious that those who lead a normally regulated sexual life are in reality less subject to sexual excitement than are those who, for one reason or another, are forced to leave the sexual impulse ungratified. Strong deeds are the outcome of strong conditions of the soul. The continued repression of an ever-present hunger, be it of the stomach, the soul, the senses, or the blood, makes us weakly and wretched. Barricades separate young men from young women; obstacles of all kinds, some mechanical, some speciously moral, and some coercively suggestive, are put in the way of their attempts at mutual approximation, at the enrichment of their individual lives, and at the procreation of the beautiful children of energy and youth. Thus in our time, which professes to leave the relations of the sexes free, a Draconian system of sexual isolation is in reality imposed. Hence the extraordinary loneliness of so many young people living and working in our greatest cities. I am not speaking of persons whose narrow existence is passed in some half-hidden corner of the town. I refer to those who are devoting their best energies to their share in the general work of the world, persons who, in view of the nature of that work, should have full and free association of feeling with all in their environment. But most of these, despite all the bustle and movement of town life, are isolated, atomized, cut off by an insuperable barrier from healthy and natural intercourse with the other sex.

As a matter of course, this state of privation has given rise to an instinctive search for some means of relief, and like every organic need has induced the development of a new organ, taking the form of the modern newspaper advertisement whereby people seek opportunities for sexual approximation. This manifestation should be considered neither in a prudish nor in a contemptuous

spirit, for it is astonishingly simple, straightforward, and rational. The underlying idea is to render possible direct association between two human beings of opposite sexes without their being forced to seek one another by the devious paths of highly artificialized social intercourse. Thus is effected a great saving of time and energy. Moreover, the human material brought together by this method of advertisement is, as it were, sifted and selected, since there can be no misconception as to what is desired. Even if we wish for nothing more than friendly companionship, should we seek to gratify this desire by the ordinary channels of social intercourse, we have to get through a thick and innutritious crust before we encounter anyone with whom real social intercourse is possible. This essentially rational method of public advertisement has only one serious flaw, but it is a flaw by which, in actual practice, the attempt to secure rescue from sexual isolation is radically vitiated. The method is not socially recognized—at any rate not by the better circles, nor in the countries of Teutonic civilization. In France, it is said that the plan is not unusual, being recognized and practiced by all classes. But with us, since it is only a social material of inferior quality that is willing to adopt the device, its applicability remains limited to inferior strata of the population. Yet I can well imagine that if full social recognition were granted to these advertisements, if they were no longer couched in the crude and common phraseology which is usual to-day and were no longer loaded with stupid and unmeaning catch-words, if they were truly individual and refined, they might well serve as the most direct of all possible means for the mutual introduction of men and women of fine type.

The sexual misery of our day is the outcome of social difficulties, of the lack of opportunities for choice, of the enfeeblement of impulse, of the perversion of the natural feelings and instincts, of the inhibitory influences of a false moral code, and of specious suggestions; and, above all, of that degradation of type in the physical and mental individuality which renders it so difficult for anyone to discover a satisfactory sexual complement. This

degradation of type results, in its turn, from the lack of the proper conditions for eugenic procreation.

* * * * * * *

What are the subdivisions of the sexual sphere of life in modern capitalist civilization? We have, on the one hand, the prostitute, who has in a single night to satisfy the sexual needs of a number of different men, and, on the other hand, the unmarried young woman in respectable circumstances who passes her life in arid sexual isolation. Between these two, associating with the latter in the daytime and with the former at night is the man. Finally, beyond good and evil, chained together till death them do part, on a basis of legally imposed mutual obligations, we have the married couple.

Not one of these forms of sexual life (or non-life) truly corresponds to human needs. Celibacy and prostitution are the joint results of a system admirable in its essence, but productive, as now applied, of contradictory effects. Owing to the nature of the conditions under which alone marriage is possible, disastrous consequences ensue. If young people marry, everyone exclaims: "What folly to marry so young, they will soon tire of one another." But it is not socially permissible to form experimental unions. Consequently modern marriage-practice is grounded upon the assumption that young people have no sexual need and no love need at all—that these needs are peculiar to the elderly! Worst of all, the entire destiny of the individual, and therewith that of the race, must be staked upon a single card, and those who, in this game of chance, are not lucky enough to draw the right card, are condemned to sexual misery.[2]

Altogether apart from material obstacles to marriage, the choice of a sexual partner becomes a matter of increasing difficulty. Even if the numbers of men and women were equal, and if economic conditions were less unfavorable, a large percentage of men and

[2] According to an Oriental apologue, "He that adventureth upon Matrimony is like one who thrusteth his Hand into a Bag containing many thousand Serpents and only one Eel. If Fate be propitious, he *may* draw forth the Eel." —TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

women would remain unmarried, finding themselves unable to meet their predestined soul-mates. Society is overloaded with the fruits of bad pairing, and the individual members of our race must devote a large proportion of their energies to dealing with the misfortunes and misunderstandings which arise out of the ill-starred unions of these imperfect specimens of humanity. Terrible manifestations of hatred, contempt, perversion, disease, shame, betrayal, and disillusionment, are inevitably associated with the disordered sexual life of to-day. But the maladaptations upon which our present sexual misery depends are far from being the outcome of any primal will of nature, for if this were the case we should not have among us certain examples of the higher possibilities of the human type, as exemplars of what might be made of average humanity; the maladaptations are simply the outcome of a racial process in which marriage as we have it to-day is the sole basis of reproduction. The falsification of the selective process is, by a vicious circle, at once cause and effect of the sexual crisis. Again and again, in all the earlier chapters of this book, in which the subject has been approached from so many different sides, this fact has forced itself on our attention. The malbreeding of mankind is the alpha and the omega of the sexual crisis, its cause and its consequence, its origin and its end. A clear recognition of the characteristics of this vicious circle of causation is essential if the human racial process is ever to escape from it.

Apart from the biological and spiritual perversion of our race, the general lack of culture hinders mutual contact and renders a satisfactory love choice a matter of extreme difficulty. We need a general level of average culture, whereby can be effected an equivalence, in the best sense of the word, between persons of different classes, characters, and temperaments. In addition to the specialized skill requisite for particular professions or handicrafts, it is essential that there should be a general high cultivation equally accessible to all. A moderate degree of bodily cultivation is already fairly general—for example, it is no longer customary for people to strike one another on account of differences of opinion

(and thousands of years were required for the attainment of this moderate degree of physical self-control). But if we need that our bodily activities should be trained in accordance with the requirements of the average civilization of our day, we need also, and above all, spiritual culture. Cultivated spirits, careful culture of the whole furniture of the mind, culture of the reasoning powers, and, still more important, culture of the emotional life—these should be universal, quite independently of the specialized education needed for the life-occupation. For lack of a proper culture of the emotional life, there flourishes everywhere a luxuriant growth of grotesques, defectives, and persons with deficient powers of self-control; and the possibilities of a proper sexual selection are consequently reduced to an infinitesimal minimum. In the classical tragedies, and in most of those of modern times, the tragic element is mainly dependent upon the lack of emotional culture.

Where we have to do with human beings of comparatively high differentiation, a further leading cause of sexual misery is to be found in the increasing separateness of individual view-points, and the increasing multiplicity of temperaments, which make it ever more difficult for two persons to attain to spiritual harmony. A true union of body and spirit is possible only between individuals who conform sufficiently to the same type. It is surely time for the reconstruction of a common platform, of a general European type, or, better still, of a general type of world-citizenship. In former days there was less difficulty in effecting comparatively harmonious sexual unions, for women were then "empty vessels," which men filled with whatever they themselves possessed. To-day, however, the vessel is no longer empty. It is not prepared for the unconditional reception of whatever man may be pleased to offer—and man is apt to find this difficult of endurance. Moreover, woman sees man more plainly than was possible in her former state of artificial blindness. The erotic misery of a clear-sighted woman is thus doubled. She is no longer able to look upon every chance-comer as a hero of romance; and yet the vanity of man, hypertrophied by thousands of years of artificial cultivation, is usually

dissatisfied with anything short of such adulation. Whereas, speaking generally, a woman inclines to respect an opinion differing from her own (unless it should conflict with all that she has been taught to regard as sacred), man is apt to find it impossible to respect or even to tolerate a woman's point of view. As soon as a man comes into a woman's life, she must at once, and in every direction, accept his views. In default of this compliance, he undertakes a process of continual attrition of her intellectual personality, the ultimate result of which is naturally not love, but a tragi-comedy. To this extent, therefore, there is justice in the anti-feminist view that the independence of women would introduce discord into the family circle. Be it so, but we have to remember that the manumission of slaves and the enfranchisement of serfs introduced discord into the previously harmonious and unified groups of owners and owned. Such discord is characteristic of a period of transition. It is characteristic of the crisis in which we stand to-day; and it is a preparatory stage towards the construction of a new and better synthesis, wherein man and woman will face one another as equivalent spiritual energies—for man will by then have learned to adapt himself to the new situation in which he must render to woman's individuality the respect which he demands that she should pay to his own.

Truly for the building of the new amatory civilization, we of to-day have to pay a great price, and a major part of this price must be paid by the new woman. Men who find themselves unable to enter into satisfactory relationships with women of the newer types can still find plenty of available women exhibiting the characteristics of the old order. But women of the new time will not accept the old type of family relationship, based upon woman's unconditional spiritual subordination, and involving the denial of all woman's developmental possibilities. Thus, amid the wide-spread manifestations of the general sexual misery, we have to consider more particularly the sexual misery of women, and to concentrate our attention in especial upon the sexual misery of women of the higher types.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE PECULIAR SEXUAL MISERY OF WOMEN

Erotic Starvation and Its Dangers. Women of Higher Type Especially Liable to Erotic Privation. The "Anomalous" Woman. Anna Boje, in Frenssen's "Hilligenlei." Sex-problems in Modern Literature. Organic Need for Motherhood—Often Ignored in the Woman's Movement. Krafft-Ebing upon Insanity in Celibate Women. Peculiarly Tragical Isolation of Those Termed New Women. A Chanson of Maeterlinck's Voicing Woman's Resignation. Matriarchy versus Patriarchy. Control of the Birth-rate by the Direct Association of Mothers with the State. The Deliberate Play of Courtship That Would Result from a Wise Reform of Our Sexual Life.

Schopenhauer laid great stress upon woman's lack of objectivity, but this characteristic is itself dependent upon woman's lack of sexual freedom. Those who have lived out their sexual experiences can use things according to their nature, objectively, that is to say, freely, independently, and capably; whereas those whose sexual life is in a state of continuous repression must always remain dependent, enslaved to themselves and to others. This is what Schopenhauer failed to understand, for it is to the modern study of sexual pathology that we owe the recognition of the influence that is exerted by a disturbed sexual emotional life upon the entire intellectual and moral state.

To woman, erotic privation involves the most perverse situation and the greatest conceivable dangers. In consequence of this privation, woman is peculiarly exposed to masculine attack, in a manner that would be quite impossible if she had full freedom of choice. The incessant and heavy oppression of her sexual sphere disorders her critical faculties, weakens her power of resistance, obscures her whole intelligence. Yet it is not simply because man, and not woman, has the power of choice that woman is dependent; her dependence is rather the outcome of the countless factors in-

terfering with the free play of courtship. That man chooses and not woman is one of the few phenomena of modern sexual life altogether independent of social culture and misculture, for it is a law founded in the nature of things. It is impossible that the man should be the one "chosen" to love, for man's capacity to love depends upon a certain train of phenomena which can be set in motion only by positive desire upon his part.

Woman, on the other hand, is always—physiologically at least—fit and ready for love, for sexual intercourse. Hence woman must wait until she arouses man's desire, for this is her most ultimate and most natural destiny. Normally, therefore, it is man's part to court, to woo the woman towards whom his desire is directed, and the perversion of courtship in the modern civilized world is thoroughly unnatural. In natural conditions, woman's part is not to woo, but to *be*. Anthropological researches have shown that whenever among primitive races the women adorn themselves more than the men, this practice is the outcome of a perversion of the natural conditions of courtship. Where the women are most freely adorned, there also in actual fact is their position most deplorably dependent. Writing of a tribe in eastern equatorial Africa in which the women are exceptionally adorned, Macdonald reports: "A woman kneels whenever she has occasion to speak to a man." The like is related of the women of Guiana. On the other hand, where women have a more influential position, they make much less effort to impress men by the arts of adornment. "In Melanesia, where women are treated as slaves, it is they who are tattooed, whereas in Polynesia, where woman's status is comparatively good, this adornment is confined to men." In view of these considerations, we cannot fail to recognize in the extravagant adornment of our modern women of fashion a proof of their reversion to a disastrous relationship to men. Self-adornment and dominion are in inverse ratio each with the other; the more dominion the less self-adornment, and conversely.[3]

[3] Writing of modern civilized woman, H. G. Wells says: "She outshines the peacock's excess above his mate" (*A Modern Utopia*, p. 202).—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

Even more and more does the woman who lives a solitary life during those years which should be devoted to a common life with a man tend to suffer from inadequacy of physical and mental development, and to be dulled in her capacity for temperamental expression. A gradual extinction of the energies may be observed as women advance in years, not merely in those who remain unmarried, but also in those who have been widowed or who have separated from their husbands comparatively early in life. For even women who for a time have had a full erotic life tend to suffer from this peculiar restriction of faculty when once more cut off from erotic possibilities.

"We women are always sitting and waiting," says Elisabeth von Heyking in her novel, "Der Tag Anderer." The man for whom a woman waits must be, if possible, not merely Siegfried, the hero, but also a "good match." But since to effect this combination usually exceeds man's powers, woman has to wait a long and a weary while. Now let us imagine a man placed in a similar position, immured within a family circle whose members watch over all his vital activities, deprived of independent gravitative force, and lacking any original and spontaneous leitmotif for his life. Would he not also lose all objectivity? Man, however, can formulate his own erotic aims and can direct his own efforts towards their realization. But with woman it is otherwise; wretched indeed and dependent is her destiny when compared with the security and independence of man.

* * * * * * *

The customary pharisaical judgment on free sexual unions has been handed down from generation to generation, has been deliberately instilled into us women in the process of education until it has become part of our very blood. Hence women of fine type very rarely seek relief from erotic privation along other lines than those of legal marriage, for no such woman can joyfully give herself to a man without legal sanction if she knows or feels that for the very reason she has thus given herself the man will, next

morning, despise her, or even if she knows or feels that he will regard her as in the very least lowered in his eyes. The instant she senses in the man she might love the attitude of a Pillar of Society who would despise her for a lapse from virtue, she suppresses her own erotic impulse, preferring loneliness to the fate she has every reason to dread as things are to-day. The modern man's usual moods on the morrow of an hour of free love are apt to combine nazarene-neurotic repentance for his own conduct with pharisaic contempt for that of his partner. It is this masculine incapacity to enjoy to the end the ardent beauty of the love intimacy which enforces upon many women a "voluntary" celibacy.

But not all such women are permanently deprived of sexual experience. The circumstances we have been considering have brought into existence a new and tragical type, which I may venture to classify as that of the "anomalous" women. These have not become women in the fullest sense of the word like the married women who are able to live in regulated sexual intercourse throughout the whole period of reproductive activity; they are not like the old maids who have never fulfilled their womanhood at all; they are not like the prostitutes in whom the functions of sex are exploited; they are simply "anomalous" women, women who during youth have had fugitive love-experiences. Having had these experiences, their subsequent state of sexual privation must involve profound disturbance of the entire vital organism. As far as I am aware, the Viennese physician and psychologist, Freud, is the only expert who has described the consequences of enforced abstinence in persons who have had early but isolated sexual experience. This is enumerated by Freud among the principal causes of that anxiety-neurosis which must be more fully considered in the next chapter.

Sexual privation is far more general in women than is commonly understood. In men similar privation usually leads to sexual perversion or to the practice of habitual masturbation. But millions of women live lives artificially desexualized, their only experience of the sexual life, if they have had any experience at

all, having been acquired in fugitive love-intimacies whereby their erotic faculties have been stimulated without the provision of permanent opportunities for the relief of the sexual tensions thus induced. Such women have full experience of normal and healthy sexual desire, but the nature of the relationships that have resulted in the awakening of desire leads them to renounce further sexual gratification. It is obvious that this cleavage, this conflict, between the impulsive life and the resolutions of the reason must tend to endanger the psychic unity.

A great modern writer has recognized this phenomenon, and describes it in one of his novels. I refer to Frenssen's "Hilligenlei." Herein we have depicted the deadly isolation of blooming and youthful womanliness—for, by a profound instinct, the author allots this destiny to the most perfect woman of all the feminine figures on his canvas. Anna Boje, beautiful in body and in soul, in the full flower of her youth, stands alone at night upon the storm-driven moorland, and prays God to relieve her of the burden of life. Her mood darkens, grows darker even than the night. At length she conceives the idea of burial beneath the heather, her body given to the brown and fruitful earth, so that something, at least, which is living may spring from it. Predestined by nature, it would have seemed, to be the beloved of a man and to bear children to her lover, she is deprived of her natural sexual destiny. In her yearning for self-fulfillment, she considers the possibility of sexual union in the case of every man she encounters, but they all seem degenerate beings, and she recoils in loathing from the very idea. Ultimately she gives herself to a married man, for a time which she knows will be short, of which she perceives the inevitable end, simply because, of all the male figures within her horizon, he alone seems to her to be a man.

The preponderance of sexual problems in modern literature, and above all that preponderance in works written by women, has filled many with disgust, especially those who are themselves safe and satiated in harbor. But what is really horrible about the matter is that the descriptions given in the works thus condemned

are true, that they are realist pictures of the actual life of our day, that many women eminently fitted for love are condemned, in some cases after a brief and often unfortunate experience of the sexual life, to a permanent condition of solitary privation. Owing to the rigid limitation of erotic possibilities characteristic of the modern sexual order, a woman must live with her fruit unenjoyed, her body sterilized, whilst the young man who should have been her sexual partner expends his accumulated masculine energy in the sterilized body of the prostitute—not infrequently clenching his teeth, shutting his eyes, with difficulty overcoming his nausea. Yet for both sexes alike the impulses thus misused or repressed in our perverted sexual order are in their essential nature not evil, but good. As Ehrenfels writes: "How great is the sense of disburdenment resulting from the simple recognition of the moral standpoint that the sexual impulse is . . . the vital source of a joyful struggle leading us upwards in the path of evolution."

* * * * * * *

In the case of women, the manifestations of sexual tension are complicated by an organic need additional to that felt for erotic stimulation and erotic satisfaction, the need for motherhood. A healthy young woman who is unable to become a mother is likely to suffer from nervous disorder, for her organism feels the need for the stimulation furnished by the act of parturition, and suffers from the accumulation of tensions that should be discharged in lactation and in her love for her offspring. It is necessary to enter a protest against the position assumed in relation to this question by many women prominent in the woman's movement, against the manner in which they gloss over these most natural of woman's desires—basing their views upon various so-called moral considerations. Goethe once said that it would be well if for at least a century the Germans were forbidden to use the word "temperament." For my part I could wish that the words "moral" and "spiritual" might for a few decades be left in peace by the protagonists of the woman's movement, so that these words might have time to reacquire a little meaning.

When a man has been forced by destiny, as was Goethe, for instance, through a series of unhappy love experiences, the effacement of such experiences from his memory is possible by the side path of minor and less vital love-relationships. But to woman such an outlet is denied. To all which, in her case, on account of such experiences, so urgently requires relief, she must, to use Freud's terminology, "abreact"—the tensions must be allowed to accumulate unchecked, at whatever cost to her organism. Hence such experiences are often fatal to a woman, literally or metaphorically, and our age abounds in lamenting, struggling, profoundly dissatisfied young women to whom life is a burden to be borne.

Krafft-Ebing informs us that the majority of cases of insanity in women occur between the age of twenty-five and thirty-five "during the years in which, in unmarried women, the hopes of love and the hopes of life's fulfillment are most commonly awakened, and in which, since these hopes so often prove vain, severe spiritual wounds are apt to be inflicted. In women, on the other hand, whose sexual functions take their natural course, the debilitating influences of pregnancy, parturition, and lactation play their part in the production of insanity." But the present writer must insist that mental disorder which arises in association with normal processes, such as pregnancy, parturition, and lactation, should be regarded as a plainly degenerative phenomenon, whose occurrence can be prevented by a proper attention to individual and racial hygiene; whereas the onset of mental distress and disorder in all degrees up to insanity, as the outcome of enforced sexual privation in women in their prime, as the outcome of the sterilization of the healthy body during the years intended by nature to be devoted to sexual activity, is not a degenerative phenomenon at all—as far as the individual organism is concerned—but a thoroughly normal reaction to unsound social conditions. It is the inevitable consequence of the violence done to nature, and is consequently irremediable by measures of individual hygiene. Help can come from social hygiene alone, that is to say, from the sanation of the

diseased social organism, from the abrogation of pestiferous moral laws, and from the replacement by new and sound constituents of those moral constituents of the present order that are unmistakably worm-eaten.

* * * * * * *

Peculiarly solitary are those spoken of as new women. No light love will serve their turn, nothing but a profound experience can bring them spiritual enfranchisement; and the man of to-day with weak capacity for love and mood dehellenized is no fit mate for the new woman, for he cannot bring her such profound experience. A man the strength of whose own love builds for him a bridge upon which he can draw near to a woman of strong individuality is a rarity and this is why women of finer clay are so commonly left unmated. Their solitude is a danger, not to themselves alone, but to the race. For, as Ruth Brée has well written, "If these intellectual and fearless women die without leaving bodily offspring, if they fail to reproduce their forcible individualities, the race necessarily suffers. To the educators and teachers of the succeeding generation is then allotted the weary task of trying to enlighten the offspring of the dullards." The yearning of such women is strong, profound and lasting. So long as their spirit remains active, so long as their youth endures, so long do they believe in their star, that star under whose sign two twin souls shall be fused into an inseparable unity. But the day inevitably comes in which this yearning expires, for they have been outwearied by a fruitless pilgrimage. Maeterlinck expresses in one of his "Chansons" a woman's outpouring of such a yearning and such a resignation.

"J'ai cherché trente ans, mes soeurs,
Où s'est-il caché?
J'ai marché trente ans, mes soeurs,
Sans m'en rapproché . . .

"J'ai marché trente ans, mes soeurs,
Et mes pieds sont las,

Il était partout, mes soeurs,
Et n'existe pas. . . .

"L'heure est triste enfin, mes soeurs,
Ôtez mes sandales,
Le soir meurt aussi, mes soeurs,
Et mon âme a mal. . . .

"Vous avez seize ans, mes soeurs,
Allez loin d'ici,
Prenez mon bourdon, mes soeurs,
Et cherchez aussi."[4]

Is it conceivable that an end should ever be put to this sexual misery of women? The writer believes that it is. Even if it should be impossible for every woman to attain to a satisfactory and permanent union, in a sane sexual system every healthy woman would at least have an opportunity of being desired, and every such woman could attain to motherhood. Were not every love-intimacy shadowed by the formula, "he ought to marry her," or "he is

[4] I have sought for thirty years, my sisters,
Where hides he ever?
I have sought for thirty years, my sisters,
And found him never. . . .

I have walked for thirty years, my sisters,
Tired are my feet and hot,
He was everywhere, my sisters,
Existing not. . . .

The hour is sad in the end, my sisters,
Take off my shoon,
The evening is dying, also, my sisters,
My sick soul will swoon. . . .

Your years are sixteen, my sisters,
The far plains are blue,
Take you my staff, my sisters,
Seek also you.

[The English translation is by Jethro Bithell. It appears in his little volume, *Contemporary Belgian Poetry*, Walter Scott, 1915.]

already married," or "after all he or she is going to marry somebody else," every desirable woman who to-day remains solitary would have a hundred opportunities of being desired and loved. The possibility of being desired and loved must be thrown open freely to all women. The most essential element in this enfranchisement would be the provision of economic security for the woman whose possibilities of earning a livelihood are impaired or interrupted by motherhood. Hardly less important is the social rehabilitation of unmarried motherhood, and the demand for such rehabilitation is proudly blazoned on its flag by the "Deutsche Bund für Mutterschutz." Further, it is of importance that there should be a change in the nature of the moral preconceptions with which the partners enter upon the free love-intimacy, so that they may be liberated from the burdens upon soul and senses imposed to-day in every such intimacy. Nor could we believe complete happiness to be attainable in a unity of mother and child from which the child's father is excluded. But we regard it as beyond question that society will have to make the unity of mother and child (the question of fatherhood apart) the primary basis of its sexual order. In a word, we believe that patriarchy will prove to have been a brief social aberration, and that matriarchy will once again become the natural unit of family life. In a subsequent volume a detailed study of matriarchy will be undertaken, and proof will be offered that in human history patriarchy has, in actual fact, been no more than a transient episode, in no way founded upon nature's will. Matriarchy, on the other hand, giving expression, as the only secure family association, to the indissoluble reciprocal dependence of mother and child, reaches far back into human history to the days of the prophetesses—although even under matriarchy, if only for the reason that territorial property descended in the female line, the father of the children commonly lived with the mother in monogamic sexual union.

Even when the father is lacking to the family unit, unmarried motherhood (presupposing always that it entails neither poverty

nor social contempt) is a thousand times better for a woman than that she should live out her whole life under the burden that millions of women bear to-day, that of complete renunciation of the possibilities of love and of sex. Woman's sexual enfranchisement once secured, she will no longer be condemned to remain solitary if abandoned by her first lover. Should her child lose its "natural" father, it will very probably find a better one in its mother's new companion. Man, too, when he feels himself free, in the sense in which the woman yoked by no legal ties is free, will tend to follow a natural psychical suggestion, will incline to maintain his rights in his own child, and will probably, in the free intimacy, more often remain in permanent association with the mother than he does to-day, when he feels "ensnared" in such a relationship. There is no ground whatever, and above all there is no eugenic ground, why a woman who has been abandoned by her lover, or one who finds her male intimate uncongenial and leaves him, should not subsequently bear children to other men with whom in the later course of her life she may form love-relationships—presupposing always that the children are healthy. Far from there existing any eugenic objection to this course, a much more rigid selective process would be at work under such conditions than obtains to-day in the unions which women contract as it were in the dark, and with one man only.

In so far as any human community needs an increase in its birth-rate, it must effect this by political and economical measures, making a direct appeal to the initiative of the mothers of the nation. Such an association between the mothers and the state will for the first time render it possible to regulate the birth-rate in accordance with a preconceived plan; whereas to-day the state is exposed to a rapid succession of crises, suffering now from over-population, now from under-population. There is no reason to suppose that in a reformed sexual order the actual number of births need vary very markedly from that which occurs to-day; the crucial and eminently desirable difference would be a matter of distribution and of quality. With the wide public diffusion of a knowl-

edge of the methods of preventive sexual intercourse, and with the imposition of a social veto upon all procreative acts likely to be injurious to the race, the weakly, the diseased, and those deficient in earning power would no longer propagate to excess; neither the well-dowered daughter whose dowry is her only merit, nor the degenerate man, would perpetuate their types; comparatively unfit individuals would far more often be eliminated from the racial process, while beautiful, strong and desirable human beings would attain to procreation. There would result, not more pairing than to-day, but pairing under other forms and conditions and on the part of couples differently assorted.

Reproduction must be freed from its immurement within the barriers of marriage. Marriage will persist as the best form of sexual association, but no longer as the only recognized basis of procreation—for marriage has not proved its right to its existing monopoly in this field. We judge the tree by its fruits. In the millions of victims to celibacy and prostitution and in the stunted offspring that are born in consequence of the vitiation of the process of selection, we pay too dearly for marriage.

* * * * * * *

As a result of the changes here outlined, a wonderful and fully conscious play of courtship would ensue. To-day courtship, wooing, can hardly be said to occur. People marry; they buy sexual favors; they accept enforced renunciation; or they craftily "seduce" one another with the most evil intentions on both sides. True, ardently joyful, straightforward, and natural wooing of the woman by the man is rarely witnessed. Such wooing can occur only when no ill consequences can ensue to wooer or to wooed, when granting is to both an unalloyed delight. To-day, we wither in the drought which is the outcome of a false and insane code of sexual morals.

How wonderful an impulse to love would result from the social recognition of the necessity of extra-conjugal sexual intercourse and of the social rehabilitation of its practice! How many whose spirits are now prostrate in the dust, hopeless of the joy

of life, would raise their heads again to find existence once more fresh and beautiful! If erotic contact became socially permissible and possible, there would result an abundance of spiritual intimacy where to-day social intercourse is dominated solely by empty conventional forms, giving opportunities for a sexual contact which helps no one, but merely gives rise to tensions and oppressions. How freely intimate and confidential do human beings become when their lips have once kissed, so that those who before had hardly a word to exchange now find their intercourse blossom a hundredfold. To how much higher a degree would this mutually entrancing intercourse be possible, if complete erotic experience could be effected with a perfectly good conscience and with undisturbed serenity of mind. How full would existence become. People would be, as it were, winged for their daily tasks, whereas to-day the working powers are so often impaired by feelings of suppressed sexuality: How can one who is forced to suppress all inclinations to amorous tenderness, constrained to bury deep the richness of his emotional life, compelled to allow the blossoms of body and soul to wither unused, bringing joy neither to himself nor others—how can such a one bear elastically the duties and burdens of existence? This penetrating misery, from which millions now suffer, this curse of sex unused and unenjoyed, is a handicap in the struggle for existence whose result is far from that of producing "fitness." Whatever in this book I may have said which may arouse repulsion in many minds, I have said in the name of these sorrowing millions, and in the hope of providing a remedy for the misery which destroys our human blossoms and prevents their ever bearing fruit.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE PSYCHOPATHIC CONSEQUENCES OF SEXUAL MISERY

"Depressed, Miserable and Exhausted." Dissociations of Consciousness. The Researches of Breuer and Freud. Disturbance of Psychical Unity Through the Need for the "Abreaction" of Sexual Affects. Sexual Neurosis.

I now enter upon the gloomiest section of my argument, that which discusses the consequences of sexual misery, the reaction of the whole disorder of our sexual life upon the psycho-physics of mankind, upon health, bodily and mental. Privation of the amatory life is a potent cause of deficient energy, that energy which is essential to the maintenance of the working powers. It is not by chance that the curative methods now most in vogue are directed, not to the cure of particular diseases, but to the relief of persons who are "depressed, miserable and exhausted." Prof. Ehrenfels points out that in former times "the favorite means of sexual disburdenment were religious ecstasies and horrible orgies"; and he goes on to show that the cleavage between the sexual day-consciousness and the sexual night-consciousness is to-day wider than ever before; for, while the social tolerance of polygamy is less extensive, the actual practice of polygamy is more general. "Hence arises that rebellion of the subconsciousness against the supraconsciousness which is so characteristic of the mentality of our time." The supraconsciousness is the social and ethical consciousness, or the day-consciousness; the subconsciousness or night-consciousness is usually characterized by sexual excesses. From the working of the subconsciousness "arises the manifestation of a painfully fettered bestial personality in the man"—a personality which inhabits the realm of the obscure.[5]

[5] English readers will be reminded here of R. L. Stevenson's remarkable psychologico-ethical study of the dual personality of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.* —TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

The most serious of all the consequences of this divorce between the day-life and the night-life is to be found in that momentous "dissociation of consciousness" which is the basic phenomenon of hysteria. According to Breuer and Freud, in their "Studien zur Hysterie," hysteria is the outcome of "a severe trauma," of "the laborious suppression of an affect." The greater part of civilized humanity suffers from this traumatic influence, from this laborious suppression of a most natural affect, so that the investigators conclude: "For the cause of these morbid phenomena we have to look, not to a morbid predisposition of the majority of mankind, but rather to the working of deleterious influences which are in universal operation. Now such universally operative deleterious influences are found only in the forcible repression of the natural sexual impulses, a repression imposed by the ethical code of our day." It will be seen that these writers speak with no uncertain voice, and they add that the natural impulses are to such an extent forced into "abreaction" that "the psychic unity becomes disordered." Thus a sexual psychosis is the widely diffused pathological consequence of our sexual misery.

Starting from the foundation laid by these psychological experts, we can advance a stage further. As everyone knows who has attentively observed a sufficient number of hysterical subjects, a patient is hysterical when the sense of the unitary personality has been lost, and when consciousness becomes dissociated into two or more conflicting elements. If the conflict between these dissociated fragments of the ego becomes extreme, there is actual insanity. The patient broods perpetually, doubts about himself and all he does and suffers; he feels remorse and makes urgent efforts to effect a change of character; his moods are extremely variable; he takes to talking to himself aloud about his feelings. Finally, there may occur attacks upon other persons with whom the darkened intelligence is in conflict; or violent, passionate and despairing disputes are carried on within the dissociated mind. When matters have gone thus far it becomes essential to put the patient under restraint.

Such a condition does not result solely from erotic repression, for any long-continued suppression of a natural impulse may lead to a similar condition. Continued intercourse with persons of another intellectual sphere, of other social habits and adaptations; the repression or concealment of the individual's own peculiarities; unduly protracted labor at any toilsome and uninteresting occupation; a prolonged inroad of undesired impressions, whereby is prevented the natural development of those impressions that would otherwise find an outlet from the subconscious into the supraconscious life—any and all of these may give rise to the mental condition above described. The chief cause, however, is the forcible repression of individuality, the refusal of an active outlet, in the case of a naturally vigorous person endowed with an ardent and powerful temperament. Yet according to our hypocritical moral code there is a flavor of impropriety about such a temperament, such energy, such a will to live; while to manifest the will to live in the glance of the eyes, in the glowing of the lips, in the vivacity of the speech, at once arouses suspicion.

In two very different camps, that of the conventional and reactionary-minded, and in that of the æsthetic and professedly advanced, we find a similar pose. The members of both these camps profess an admiration for indolent moods, subdued tones, uncertain outlines, and a general preciosity; they prefer to hark back to some outworn style, for they are neither vigorous enough nor original enough to have a style of their own. This constitutional tendency to damp down the rich fullness of the impulsive life, and even to deny the very existence of that life, is the foundation of the perverted modern social attitude towards matters of sex. A dull-toned drowsiness is the commonest characteristic of the social life of to-day. One who is full of life-affirming impulses but to whom opportunity for the gratification of these impulses is forever refused, and in whom therefore they are continually repressed, ultimately experiences a sort of slow suffocation, and the divine gift of a vigorous temperament at length works destruction to its pos-

sessor. It is no easy matter to slow the heart-beats by press and screw in a manner which reminds us of medieval instruments of torture, to cool the blood artificially till we are in danger of freezing to death, to give the lie to the freedom, energy, and joy of the inner voices. Yet all these things are forced on us by the existing sexual crisis.

* * * * * * *

Side by side with the sexual psychoses we encounter their twin sisters, the sexual neuroses, which have a similar origin. Dr. Wilhelm Stekel writes: "Only when within us two divergent tendencies are struggling for dominion, only when the supraconscious and the subconscious feelings are in conflict, only when a large moiety of our senses has to be suppressed and inhibited, can a neurosis develop." From the neuroses in general Professor Freud of Vienna distinguishes as a special symptom-complex what he has termed the anxiety-neurosis, quite often taking the form of a cardiac neurosis. This usually arises as a result of enforced sexual abstinence, or as the outcome of unsatisfying erotic relationships in which partial or complete "sexual renunciation" prevails, whereby sexual tensions are accumulated without finding the normal method of relief. Sexual renunciation! . . . "Renounce not, love, to touch my breast. Lay thou there thy face at rest," sings beautiful Malwa in Gorki's novel. It is surely by a profound instinctive wisdom that this writer makes a girl of the people express her erotic willingness in such words.

It is needless here to attempt a detailed discussion of Freud's elaborate researches concerning neuroses, psychoses, psychoneuroses, and their relationships with the sexual life. Nowadays there is much dispute as to whether our race is degenerate, and attempts are made to solve the problem by collective investigations, craniometry, etc. To me it seems sufficient to point out that the preponderance of civilized humanity suffers from these diseases of the spirit, for this is an unmistakable stigma of degeneration. Freud contends that neuroses and psychoses are an inevitable con-

sequence of deficient sexual gratification, not merely in those who have a congenital psychopathic predisposition, but also in persons whose biological heritage is thoroughly sound. The resulting obstacles to procreation, and to a natural sexual life in general, affect both sexes with disease; all strata of society sicken as a result of this abnormal mode of life. Healthy and potent individuals have forced upon them unnatural conditions of sexual abstinence, whereas the privation of natural sexual opportunities works no injury to the sexually anesthetic and sexually frigid. Thus it is not a morbid predisposition which here leads to the onset of disease in consequence of unnatural sexual privation, but the possession of normal endowments. Freud says this in so many words: "Anxiety-neurosis is, speaking generally, sexual libido perverted from its natural manifestation."[6] The various forms of neurasthenia and hysteria, the mixed forms of hystero-neurasthenia, and especially the distinctive anxiety-neurosis and coercive-neurosis, are mainly dependent upon "frustrated excitement," excitement not followed by adequate satisfaction, sexual tension which finds no proper discharge either physical or mental, enforced sexual abstinence—in a word, upon all kinds of sexual privation in those whose sexual sensibilities are congenitally normal. "Such sexual factors are not lacking in any case of neurasthenia; such factors alone are competent to produce neurosis without any other contributory cause."

To me the most important element in Freud's teaching is his unqualified statement that the victims of these troubles are primarily healthy individuals, that they do not suffer from congenital morbid predisposition. Thus the neurologist comes to the same conclusion as the zoölogist quoted above who demonstrated the occurrence of hysteria and psychosis in animals primarily healthy when these animals were deprived of opportunities for sexual intercourse. It is, indeed, self-evident that it is precisely the normal organism which tends to react in this way to unnatural pri-

[6] *Die Sexualität in der Ætiologie der Neurosen.* Sammlung kleinen Schriften zur Neurosenlehre, Deuticke, Leipzig and Vienna.

vations, whereas a congenitally morbid organism will probably fail to perceive that the privations are unnatural. Frigid and sexually anesthetic women will not become ill or mentally disordered in consequence of sexual abstinence or of a perverse sexual life, whereas in normal women such a sequence is inevitable. The facts here luminously exposed by the Viennese investigator enable us to estimate at its proper value the repulsive hypocrisy which dares to speak of perfectly normal human needs as "manifestations of morbid sensuality." For Freud has proved that the human organism, male or female, is morbid when it does *not* feel the need for the discharge of normal sexual tensions! He writes: "For the proper understanding of the anxiety-neurosis, it is important to note that this neurosis manifests itself to any considerable degree in those men only who remain sexually potent, and in those women only who are not sexually anesthetic. In those neurasthenics who have seriously impaired their sexual potency by the practice of masturbation, the anxiety-neurosis in cases of sexual abstinence assumes very trifling forms, being limited for the most part to hypochondriasis and slight chronic dizziness. The great majority of the women suffering from this neurosis are also normally potent. A really impotent woman, one sexually anesthetic, is little liable to the anxiety-neurosis and bears remarkably well the influences that normally tend to arouse it. . . . The purest cases of anxiety-neurosis are as a rule the most fully developed. We find them in sexually potent, comparatively young persons, where the single predominant factor has been in action, and where the illness has not lasted too long. . . . Wherever we have reason for regarding the neurosis as an acquired one, we find upon careful examination that the real effective factor in the production of the disease has been the working of a series of noxious influences in the domain of the sexual life."

Establishments for the treatment of nervous disorder, from the private medical home to the annex to the public asylum, are crowded with such sufferers, who have usually been ill for some time before the gravity of their condition forces itself on their

attention through the failure of their working powers and the occurrence of distressing emotional states.

Freud writes: "My experience shows it to be highly desirable that the medical superintendents of such institutions should clearly understand that these patients are the victims neither of civilization nor of heredity, but that they are, if I may coin the expression, the cripples of sexuality. . . . Much misuse is made of the etiological factor of 'overwork,' which medical men are fond of assigning to their patients as the cause of various neuroses. It is perfectly true that one who through exposure to sexual noxious influences has acquired a predisposition to neurasthenia, bears intellectual work and the other mental strains of life very badly; but neither through such work alone nor through excitement alone does anyone ever become neurotic.

Intellectual work is rather a safeguard against neurasthenic disease; it is precisely the most enduring mental workers who remain immune from neurasthenia; and what neurasthenics are apt to complain of as overwork does not usually deserve, in respect either of quality or of quantity, to be recognized as mental work at all. Medical men must learn, when consulted by an official employee who thinks he is being overworked in his office, or by a housewife who makes a similar complaint about her domestic labors, to explain to their patients that they are ill, not in consequence of the fulfillment of duties which are a trifle to the civilized brain, but because they have grossly neglected and corrupted their sexual life . . ."

"When we consider all the injurious effects, greater and lesser, resulting from the ever wider diffusion of neurasthenia, we see clearly that it is to the racial interest that human beings should enter into sexual intercourse endowed with full sexual potency. Yet as regards prophylaxis, the individual is here comparatively powerless. It is necessary that the community at large should become interested in the matter, and should consent to the adoption of customs and to the foundation of institutions of general applicability. But since helpful conditions in these respects are still

remote from realization, we can with justice, from this point of view, blame our civilization for the spread of neurasthenia. There is much that needs alteration. . . . Above all it is essential that the general opinion should tolerate free discussion of the problems of the sexual life. It must become possible for anyone to speak or write on these problems without being regarded as a disturber of the public peace, or as a mercenary speculator in base instincts. There will be work enough for a century to come in teaching civilization how to adapt itself to the claims of our sexuality."

I have quoted Freud at considerable length, but it seemed essential to go to the fountain-head of investigation, although this investigator deals with the results of sexual misery mainly from the physician's standpoint. It will be well to give the views of a woman-writer on the same subject, Adele Schreiber. She writes:[7] "Many consider it sufficient to establish that sexual continence is not injurious to health: such persons forget that this is not the sole decisive factor; they leave out of consideration the expenditure of mental and physical energy, the waste of thought-power and of the joy of life, which are often needed to effect the suppression of the strongest of all natural desires. Especially in cases in which strong spiritual factors increase the intensity of this longing until it becomes intermingled with every vital manifestation, the necessity for renunciation will turn one naturally inspired with the joy of artistic creation into one weary of life, will convert one ready to storm the heavens into a pale and timid shadow, will change a disposition diffusing light and happiness on all around into a disposition that is gloomy, moody, and depressive in its influences on others."

A straightforward description of the need for sexual fulfillment and of the consequences of such fulfillment is given by the Dutch physician and sociologist, I. Rutgers:[8] "As puberty ap-

[7] In the periodical "Mutterschutz." This periodical has now been renamed "Die neue Generation," and it is edited by Dr. Helene Stoecker, of Berlin.

[8] In "Die neue Generation."

proaches, and in some cases considerably earlier, the sensation of sexual stimulation, the sexual impulse, the sexual nervous irritability and the vascular changes characteristic of sexual excitement, are perceived as a kind of voluptuous surprise. As, through chance or design, this stimulus, this impulse, increases, the adolescent experiences an ever-increasing delight. The feeling is one of a more intensive life. To consider one symptom alone, the phenomena of vascular dilatation affect not solely the limited vascular areas belonging to the specific organs of sex, for the whole cutaneous vascular system is sympathetically affected: so that the very visage flushes in the dawn of youth. . . . Whilst it is true that chastity has been the ethical foundation of modesty, humanity, and refinement, it is no less true that from the first the voluptuous impulse tended to take the individual 'out of himself'—not by violence and with intent to kill as in the slaughterous lust of war, but amicably, altruistically, and for life-creating purposes. All ideal self-sacrifices, all knightly virtues, are the outcome of this same impulse."

This definition of voluptuousness as the impulse which takes the individual out of himself seems to me peculiarly happy; and it may be noted that this also is the literal and derivative sense of the word "ecstasy." All heroic deeds are born out of ecstasy, out of the climax of the life-affirming impulse, which takes the individual out of himself, which lifts him out of the dust, into those regions in which he becomes aware of his immaterial being as fire and spirit. The highest manifestation of this condition is the outcome of gratified sexual desire, of the happiness of the normal love-union effected in accordance with nature's will. "The joy of sexual union is neither frenzy nor sin, but a physiological need. It exists, not merely to secure the perpetuation of life on earth, but also to effect the exfoliation of all our energies. It is this latter element in the joy of love which, through ignorance, is so commonly misunderstood. . . . At the very epoch of life in which, for our five senses, the stimulus of novelty gradually begins to pall, the sexual life blossoms, so that a change takes place in us by which

everything is newly vitalized. We have a new youth, a new springtime. What a vigorous impulse is thus given to the heart, to the breathing, to the circulation! . . . This new world of impetuous stimuli, this energizing of the vital processes, is far more effective than all the ergostats, baths, and massage in the world. Not until this fire becomes extinct does old age ensue. . . . No practicing physician can fail to recognize that the emotional deprivations which are the inevitable outcome of prolonged and enforced celibacy are competent, like all other emotional deprivations and just as much as hunger and cold, to arouse a predisposition to various constitutional disorders and ultimately to chronic infective diseases. Even those without medical knowledge are for the most part aware that such emotional deprivations may eventuate in grave nervous disorders. . . . To secure for every being in the vigor of youth a reasonable access to this physiological summit of life, is the primary task of all sexual reform and the duty of all thoughtful persons; it is the duty, in especial, of the members of the Bund für Mutterschutz." Thus writes the physician and philosopher Rutgers. I may fitly close this chapter by quoting the words of Walt Whitman, from the 48th stanza of the "Song of Myself":

> "Whoever walks a furlong without sympathy walks to his own funeral drest in his shroud."

CHAPTER XXXIV

CONCLUSIONS

After Consideration, Action. Eugenics. The Woman's Movement: The Economic Emancipation of Women; Motherhood Protection. Education. Complete Moral Recognition of Every Healthy Act of Motherhood. Our Conclusions Are the Collective Voice in Which the Yearning of Suffering Millions Finds Expression. Monogamy: Coercive Marriage and Free Marriage. Awakening of Racial Consciousness; Higher Sexual Aims of the Individual. The Golden Rule of the Sexual Life.

The main conclusion of our investigation may be expressed in a single proposition. Through the conditions of our present sexual order a large proportion of human beings who are thoroughly fit for procreation, who are desirable and desired, are excluded from the sexual life. But we no longer accept with passive despair the sexual misery thus produced, and humanity turns to seek counsel.

A detailed consideration of the methods and aims of a new sexual order will be the object of the sequel to the present volume. It will suffice here to point out that in effecting the change from the old order to the new, there can, as far as sex-relations are concerned, be no thought of a sudden or violent revolution. Revaluations arise by gradation, out of gradually changing preconceptions. The new preconceptions are already in process of formation. One noteworthy change in mental attitude is to be seen in the awakening consciousness of the nature of racial progress, and this consciousness must and will grow into a profound sense of social responsibility towards the new human material that is continually being produced. This sense of responsibility will find expression in a purposive racial hygiene, whose central reformatory aim must

be to secure an effective social protection for motherhood and for all the children of the race. It is not enough to demand the protection of those already in existence; that branch of racial hygiene which is known as eugenics demands the prenatal protection of the germ-plasm. The eugenist will favor all the possibilities which lead to the procreation of healthy, strong, and fit human beings; and will resist to the uttermost all those influences whereby inferior hereditary values are interpolated into that unending series of living individuals which constitutes the race.

For a second agency of sexual reform we must look to the woman's movement. This movement must help woman to the attainment of sexual freedom of choice; it must make her altogether independent of the economic care of the individual man—always with the proviso that, by the social endowment of motherhood, woman is to be completely freed from the need to earn a livelihood during the period in which she is engaged in bringing a new life into the world and in caring for her immature offspring. Such motherhood protection may in part be effected on the lines of some scheme of national insurance, and tendencies in this direction are already manifest on all sides. Larger claims must also be made on the father to provide for the education of his illegitimate children.

The third element of immediately practicable sexual reform is a great extension, on socialist lines, of the educational activities of the community, so as to safeguard children from the dilettantism and from the authoritative and rule-of-thumb methods of the private adventure school, and at the same time to relieve their mothers of needless burdens.

The fourth pillar upon which must rest the structure of a reformed sexual life is the complete moral recognition of every healthy act of motherhood.

The fulfillment of these conditions will put an end to the falsification of the selective process. No woman will find it necessary, in exchange for maintenance, to give herself to a man of inferior quality; no sound and vigorous man need marry a woman unfit

to procreate merely because this woman has a dowry; no mother who has conceived a child willingly in health and in love need kill this child or procure abortion for fear of its growing up in poverty and shame. No pregnancy which promises the procreation of a valuable new human life will need to be prevented, and no fruit of wretched quality conceived in a spirit of sordid calculation need be allowed to come into existence.

I do not know how old is the idea to which this book gives expression. Through a hundred divided voices it has all been said before; and doubtless a considerable time must still elapse before what is good herein can be translated into actual fact. It suffices me to have recognized the urgency of the problem and to have found words in which to state it. In my reader's company the sexual need and the sexual crisis of our time have been examined and the conclusions to which we have been led are the collective voice in which the yearning of suffering millions finds expression. Immeasurably great is our misery. Forcible restraint is imposed upon the most powerful of all human needs; the mere possession of this need exposes us to suspicion and to abuse; its satisfaction is prevented by internal and external forces, by evil conditions affecting both society and the individual, by physical coercion, and by the yet more mighty force of suggestion.

It has not been the writer's intention to run atilt against the institution of marriage. Marriage is likely to persist for all time as a preferential form, or as one of the most desirable forms, of sexual union. In the first and second parts of this work, stress was laid upon the invaluable advantages of marriage, and more particularly upon the value of the public and social recognition of a sexual union. Attention was also drawn to the importance of the suggestive influences associated with this form of sexual community. In certain conditions, marriage will always remain an eminently desirable type of sexual association. It is involved in the very nature of those erotic relationships that aim at personal happiness that there should be some kind of bond between the pair, and that there should be such a bond will remain and ought

to remain the object of the individual partners. But the bond must never be forcibly imposed from without, and the men and women of the future will certainly not consider it right that those who fail to attain the happy state of a voluntary and life-long sexual union should therefore be robbed of their sexual life, that they should, under risk of social obloquy, be condemned to lead, with healthy bodies, the lives of sexual cripples. Fixed and permanent monogamy is an admirable state, inasmuch as it preserves the energies of mankind for the performance of other high duties lying without the sphere of the erotic. Nevertheless, enduring monogamy must not be forcibly imposed so as to impair the individual's freedom of choice; and, in the game of life, monogamy is not, after all, the *first* card to play. What we object to is that a monopoly should be given to this particular form of association, that it should be established on high as the sole legally and socially recognized basis of procreation. This hypocritical and draconian monopolization it is which makes the dominant sexual order the source of the prevailing sexual crisis, the cause of the perversion of courtship, of the falsification of the selective process, and therewith of the degeneration of mankind.

Man and woman must both be free to develop themselves as social and erotic forces. Before they have any intention of entering the state of legal marriage, they must have the right to propagate their kind under favorable biological conditions. They must be free to procreate when at the climax of their reproductive energies, in unions contracted from pure inclination and uninfluenced by calculations of social advantage. They must be free thus to propagate even though they should fail to find the true and permanent life-companion for whom their hearts yearn, and with whom if found they might well wish to enter into the bonds of legal marriage. Essential prerequisites are: the special protection of woman as wife; the social endowment or social insurance of motherhood regardless of the consideration whether the mother is or is not legally married; the social and moral recognition of every act of procreation which tends to the welfare of the race. Only through

such measures will the high values of an enfranchised erotic life become effectual in action.

* * * * * * *

No less imminent than a reconstruction of the economic basis of society is a reconstitution of the forms of the sexual life. From all sides come proposals for reform, aiming at the institution of some system of sexual relationships differing from that which is socially approved to-day; and all the reformers take as their starting-point that the misery of the existing sexual order is too great to be borne. Attempts at reform are altogether ineffective until the reforms receive the stamp of public recognition, for every custom, every moral imperative, depends for its efficacy upon the recognition of its obligatory character. The beast in man will yield only to the coercion of a publicly imposed obligation. To destroy old established sanctions without putting new ones in their place would be to play a dangerous game with human life—above all in the difficult and sensitive region of sexual morality. The only significance of individual and isolated attempts at reform is that average opinion may thereby be diverted in a particular direction, and that the need for new sanctions may thus be effectively demonstrated. In general, however, individual acts of emancipation, which are unestablished upon social theories of fairly wide acceptance, and which are not the manifestation of a purposive effort towards the establishment of a new general sanction, are of use to no one. Indeed they tend to do harm rather than good, and their participants stand exposed and defenseless, delivered over to the impulses of an arbitrary lawlessness, liable to submergence in an abyss between two moral worlds—that of our own day and that which is yet to come. But the various tendencies towards sexual reform now everywhere manifest suffice to show that in the near future, from the awakening racial consciousness, on the one hand, and the higher sexual aims of the individual, on the other, a new and better sexual order must of necessity come into being.

Humanity once aroused will sweep away formalized and utterly outworn valuations; it will put an end to all the hindrances to a

free selective process; it will do away with amatory starvation; and will forever abolish the mean vulgarization of sexual processes which results to-day from our marriage system, and from its obverse, prostitution. The procreation of strong, healthy, and beautiful human beings, under perfectly free selective conditions, in numbers appropriate to the available means of nutrition, in accordance with the most powerful of all natural impulses, will become the golden rule of the sexual life. If this nature-will, now enchained, be once again liberated, if it be translated from the domain of unconsciously working elementary forces to that wherein is operative the controlled and purposive will of civilized men and women, in short, *if procreation becomes a part of civilization*, with all its consequences foreseen and safeguarded by the organized forces of civilized humanity, then will disappear all the shams and travesties of the sexual life which seem to-day inseparable from civilization. Once again will Pan, the nature god, return to the earth he has so long abandoned; once again will the heavenly manna of love become the daily food of our mortal race. To render these things possible, the first and last essential is that the central point of this great nature-will should be enfranchised, and at the same time safeguarded; once again must the Mother with the Child be recognized as the great and truly holy, because natural, center of all social classification.

To-day all sexual activity and every kind of erotic experience outside the limits of marriage are thrust away into the darkest and dirtiest corners of life. The results are evident: in the diffusion of the venereal diseases; in defective procreation, inhibiting the evolution of the higher types of our species; in the alarming increase in psychoses and neuroses, perversions and moral corruptions of every kind. Hence all who have acquired an active understanding of the nature and source of our misery in this sexual crisis, must endeavor, to the full measure of their powers, to do what Lona Hessel does in Ibsen's play: to ventilate these dark corners wherever they may find them. To ventilate, that is the aim of this book. In that hope, I speed it on its way.

WOMAN: HER SEX AND LOVE LIFE

FOR MEN AND WOMEN

By WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M.D.

Illustrated

This is one of the most important, most useful books that we have ever brought out. It is not devoted to abstruse discussions or doubtful theories: it is full of *practical* information of *vital* importance to every woman and through her to every man, to every wife and through her to every husband.

The simple practical points contained in its pages would render millions of homes happier abodes than they are now; they would prevent the disruption of many a family; they show how to hold the love of a man, how to preserve sexual attraction, how to remain young beyond the usually allotted age. This book destroys many injurious errors and superstitions and teaches truths that have never been presented in any other book before. In short, this book not only imparts interesting facts; it gives *practical* points which will make thousands of women, and thousands of men happier, healthier, and more satisfied with life. Certain single chapters or even paragraphs are alone worth the price of the book.

You may safely order the book without delay. But if you wish, a complete synopsis of contents will be sent you.

Cloth bound. Price $3.00

THE CRITIC AND GUIDE CO.

12 MT. MORRIS PARK W., NEW YORK

SEXUAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY

By WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M.D.

Dr. Robinson's work deals with every phase of the sex question, both in its individual and its social aspects. In this book the scientific knowledge of a physician, eminent as a specialist in everything pertaining to the physiological and medical side of these topics, is combined with the vigorous social views of a thinker who has radical ideas and is not afraid to give them outspoken expression.

A few of the subjects which the author discusses in trenchant fashion are:

The Relations Between the Sexes and Man's Inhumanity to Woman. — The Influence of Abstinence on Man's Sexual Health and Sexual Power. — The Double Standard of Morality and the Effect of Continence on Each Sex.— The Limitation of Offspring: the Most Important Immediate Step for the Betterment of the Human Race, from an Economic and Eugenic Standpoint. — What To Do With the Prostitute and How To Abolish Venereal Disease.—The Question of Abortion Considered In Its Ethical and Social Aspects. — Torturing the Wife When the Husband Is At Fault. — Influence of the Prostate on Man's Mental Condition.—The Most Efficient Venereal Prophylactics, etc., etc.

"SEXUAL PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY" will give most of its readers information they never possessed before and ideas they never had before — or if they had, never heard them publicly expressed before.

Cloth-bound, 320 Pages, $2 Postpaid

THE CRITIC AND GUIDE CO.

12 MT. MORRIS PARK W. NEW YORK

A New Book by Dr. Robinson

The Limitation of Offspring by the Prevention of Conception

BY

WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M.D.

With an Introduction by

A. JACOBI, M.D., LL.D.

Ex-President of The American Medical Association

All the arguments for and against the voluntary limitation of offspring or birth control concentrated in one book of 250 pages.

The Limitation of Offspring is now the burning question of the day. It has been made so by Dr. William J. Robinson, who was a pioneer in this country to demand that people be permitted to obtain the knowledge how to limit the number of their children, how to prevent conception when necessary. For many years he fought practically alone; his propaganda has made hundreds of thousands of converts—now the ground is prepared and the people are ready to listen.

Written in plain popular language. A book which everybody interested in his own welfare and the welfare of the race should read.

PRICE ONE DOLLAR

Address: CRITIC AND GUIDE CO.

12 Mt. Morris Park W New York City

JUST OFF THE PRESS!

A New Book by Dr. Robinson

Sex Knowledge for Men.

By WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M.D.

ILLUSTRATED.

An honest, unbiased, truthful, strictly scientific and up-to-date book, dealing with the anatomy and physiology of the male sex organs, with the venereal diseases and their prevention, and the manifestations of the sex instinct in boys and men.

Absolutely free from any cant, hypocrisy, falsehood, exaggeration, compromise, or any attempt to conciliate the stupid and ignorant.

An elementary book written in plain, understandable language, which should be in the possession of every adolescent boy and every parent.

Dr. Robinson believes that *fear* should have no place in our life, for morality based upon fear is not morality at all, only cowardice. He believes there is a better method, and that method he uses in his book.

Price, cloth bound, $2.00.

ADDRESS:

CRITIC AND GUIDE COMPANY

12 MT. MORRIS PARK WEST, :: :: :: :: NEW YORK

☞ We believe it is the only book of its kind in the English language. It is the book you have been waiting for.

A Practical Treatise on the Causes, Symptoms, and

Treatment of Sexual Impotence

And Other Sexual Disorders in Men and Women

BY

WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M.D.

Chief of the Department of Genito-Urinary Diseases and Dermatology, Bronx Hospital and Dispensary; Editor The American Journal of Urology, Venereal and Sexual Diseases; Editor and Founder of The Critic and Guide; Author of Sexual Problems of Today; Never Told Tales; Practical Eugenics, etc.

BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

Part I—Masturbation. Its Prevalence, Causes, Varieties, Symptoms, Results, Prophylaxis and Treatment. Coitus Interruptus and its Effects.

Part II—Varieties, Causes and Treatment of Pollutions, Spermatorrhea, Prostatorrhea and Urethrorrhea.

Part III—Sexual Impotence in the Male. Every phase of its widely varying causes and treatment, with illuminating case reports.

Part IV—Sexual Neurasthenia. Causes, Treatment, case reports, and its relation to Impotence.

Part V—Sterility, Male and Female. Its Causes and Treatment.

Part VI—Sexual Disorders in Woman, Including Frigidity, Vaginismus, Adherent Clitoris, and Injuries to the Female in Coitus.

Part VII—Priapism. Etiology, Case Reports and Treatment.

Part VIII—Miscellaneous Topics. Including: Is Masturbation a Vice?—Two Kinds of Premature Ejaculation.—The Frequency of Coitus.—"Useless" Sexual Excitement.—The Relation Between Mental and Sexual Activity.—Big Families and Sexual Vigor.—Sexual Perversions.

Part IX—Prescriptions and Minor Points.

Third edition revised and enlarged.
Cloth bound, 422 pages. Postpaid, $3.00.

Address: THE CRITIC AND GUIDE COMPANY
12 MT. MORRIS PARK W., NEW YORK CITY

AN EPOCH-MAKING BOOK

Never-Told Tales

GRAPHIC STORIES OF THE DISASTROUS RESULTS OF SEXUAL IGNORANCE

By

WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M.D.

Editor of the American Journal of Urology and of The Critic and Guide

---

Every doctor, every young man and woman, every newly-married couple, every parent who has grown-up children, should read this book.

Every one of the tales teaches a distinct lesson, a lesson of vital importance to the human race.

We knew that we were getting out a useful, a NECESSARY book, and we expected it would meet with a favorable reception, but we never expected the reception would be so extravagantly and so unanimously enthusiastic. There seems to have been a long-felt but dormant want for just such a book. One reader, who has a fortune running into the millions, writes:

"I would have given a good part of my fortune if the knowledge I obtained from one of your stories to-day had been imparted to me ten years ago."

Another one writes:

"I agree with you that your plain, unvarnished tales from real life should have been told long ago. But better late than never. Your name will be among the benefactors of the human race for having brought out so forcibly those important, life-saving truths. I know that I personally have already been benefited by them."

Fine Cloth Binding. One Dollar per Copy

NINTH EDITION

THE CRITIC AND GUIDE COMPANY

12 MT. MORRIS PARK, WEST NEW YORK

130

MAR 2 0 1960
G.J.

02230250R

NLM 05015356 3

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE